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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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NOTHING NEW

S. P. 'ISM

There always is danger of a man's noble impulses being used as a hand against himself and the very impulse that animates him. Scamps are always on the alert for just such handles. It is their only hope of salvation. They proceed from an instinct that is well known—the instinct which causes the thief to cry "Stop thief!"—the instinct that sacrifices scape-goats. The honest and serious men who have been roped into the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party, but who are catching a breath of Socialist Labor Party uncompromising honesty and soundness, together with a gleam of the Socialist Labor Party beacon light, and are now seriously and honestly denouncing Berger, should take care that their noble impulse be not turned into a handle against themselves and their purpose. The way the scamp on the alert manages is this: he joins the cry raised by honest men; by so doing he imparts the appearance of equal honesty to himself; and the upshot is that he usually saves the thing—scampishness—while he may be ready to sacrifice the individual scamp. It is not Berger that should be denounced, but Bergerism, and Bergerism is not limited to Milwaukee, or even Wisconsin; what, merely for the sake of convenience, may be termed Bergerism, is not a local but a national disease. It is not a partial, but a constitutional malady of the said party of many names. This point should be thoroughly understood.

What exactly is it that has happened in Milwaukee? By an overwhelming vote of the Social Democratic organization of that city, it was decided to up no candidate for judge, and the spirit and purpose of the decision was made plain by the press of that organization. It recommends voting for one of the two capitalist candidates for the office in order to defeat the other. Is other words, it resorted to the tactics of dick-and-deal with the foe for opportunist purposes. This is, too enough, a betrayal of the working class; but is the act anything new with the "Socialist" party, or is it, perchance, a Wisconsin "Socialist" party eccentricity, or a Milwaukee "Socialist" party localism? and is its advocacy a peculiarity of the "Social Democratic Herald" and "Wahrheit"?

Here in New York, at this end of the continent, we saw only two weeks ago, the "Socialist" party man Moses Bauma, alias Morris Brown, figure on a Committee that appeared before Belmont, and, under the colors of Labor, confessed the Interborough strikers guilty of "breach of contract." It was an opportunist dick-and-deal with the capitalist.—What's the difference between Bauma and Berger?

We saw Algonon Lee and Herman Schnitzer, two employees of the Volkszeitung Corporation, jointly with Moses Hilkowitz, alias Morris Hilkuit,—all three "Socialist" party or Social Democratic party men—sign at Amsterdam an anti-immigration resolution, that was an insult to Socialism and the Working Class in that it spoke of backward RACES and tried to keep them out, all for the opportunistic purpose of propitiating the Gompers Labor lieutenants of the capitalist class.—What's the difference between Lee, Schnitzer, Hilkuit and Berger?

In Chicago this very month we saw the "Socialist" party local set up an opportunist municipal platform, and thus dick-and-deal with bourgeois interests.—What's the difference between Chicago and Milwaukee?

In Kansas we see Professor Will, the State Secretary of the same "Socialist"

party, place in his own organ the demand for an "increased per capita of circulating medium" as a Socialist demand, and thus dick-and-deal opportunistically with the middle class.—What's the difference between Kansas and Wisconsin?

The Girard, Kans., "Appeal to Reason" publishes opportunist advertisements to get rich quick, and help along Socialism.—What's the difference between the "Appeal to Reason" and the Milwaukee "Wahrheit" and "Social Democratic Herald"?

In Cleveland, O., we saw the "Socialist" party man Max Hayes deny that the stockyard men—a strike that was lost through the scabbiness of Gompers' pets—went down in defeat, and thus opportunistize with the capitalist class via its Labor-Lieutenants; and we saw him afterwards vote for Gompers for President.—What's the difference between Hayes and Berger?

In St. Louis, also this very month, we saw the "Socialist" party local promulgate a municipal declaration that dick-and-deal opportunistically with the capitalist principle of dividing the proletariat by lines of bourgeois citizenship.—What's the difference between St. Louis and Milwaukee?

In Massachusetts we saw the "Socialist" party State convention adopt an opportunist Trust plank, and thus dick-and-deal with the capitalist foe.—What's the difference between Massachusetts and Wisconsin?

We have seen the "Socialist" party "New Yorker Worker" of last January 15, opportunistically publish a full page advertisement (and opportunistically pocket the money therefor) of a capitalist concern, the advertisement being headed with the atrocious, and to the workman's mind, poisonous lie "The Protection of One Million Families".—What's the difference between the "New Yorker Worker" and the "Wahrheit" or the "Milwaukee Social Democrat"?

No difference whatever, all along the line! Whatever the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party meant to hide, its speech was smoother than it meant it to be when it declared that the only difference between it and the Socialist Labor Party was the attitude of the two on Unionism. The difference is fundamental; it blossoms with the Socialist Labor Party into triumphant soundness, and with the "Socialist" party into all sorts of opportunism on top. From the mud of Stone-Gompers-Mitchell pure and simple on which the "Socialist" party, alias Social Democratic party, alias Public Ownership party is planted, nothing can come but the dust of the "Intellectuals" and fakirs' domination, which raises the further dust of corruption and betrayal of Labor, not over the Milwaukee concern alone, but, as we have proved above, throughout the land.

The honest and clarified "Socialist" party men must look out against being tripped by the "Intellectual"-Fakirery that is being raised against Berger and Milwaukee; they should follow up the action of the Cincinnati "Socialist" party local—the "Eleventh Explosion—More to Come"—found in this issue, by resolving to revoke, not the charter of Milwaukee only, but the charter of the whole opportunist ranch into which they were roped. Matured by the experience that they gathered in the camp of their "broad" and "tolerant" concern, they must now be ripe to appreciate the "narrowness" and "intolerance" of the Fighting S. L. P., which, true to its name, has only war for the foe.

To whom it may concern:—Resolved, That the C. C. C. of Local Cincinnati, Socialist Party, hereby endorse the action of national committee-man Trautmann from Ohio, in demanding that the National Committee ask the State Committee of Wisconsin to investigate the conditions in Milwaukee, where the Local and Press first advocated to refrain from nominations and afterward the C. C. C. and Press endorsed and asked all Socialists to vote for a capitalist candidate. Be it further

Resolved, That we condemn the action of Victor L. Berger in making a personal attack on the National Committee.

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VOLCANIC RUMBLINGS

AN S. P. MAN EXPOSES ANOTHER S. P. MAN—SAYS BERGER IS THE

Dick Croker of the "Socialist" Party In Wisconsin—"I Am the Socialist Movement"—Has Made No Attempt to Unite Workers—Differs Little from Gompers and Mitchell.

(Special Correspondence.)

Milwaukee, Wis., April.—The following clipping from "The Milwaukee Journal" of April 14, gives Thomas J. Hagerty's opinion of Victor L. Berger:

ATTACK ON LEADER BERGER.

Milwaukee Man Sharply Scored.

Denunciation of Victor Berger by a Leading Exponent of Socialistic Theories.

HAS SAID "I AM THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT."

Charged with Being a Professional Politician, Sacrificing the Working Class.

Loss of Dictatorship Seen.

"As the Dick Croker of the Socialist party in Wisconsin, Mr. Berger has abandoned its platform and policies, and dominated its tendencies in the direction of Victor L. Berger, and for the maintenance of his dictatorship. Like the French king who declared 'I Etat c'est moi,' he has more than once said, 'I am the Socialist movement.'"

With these words Thomas J. Hagerty, ex-Catholic priest, and one of the most vigorous and consistent supporters of the new politico-industrial movement in opposition to the American Federation of Labor, for which a convention has been called in Chicago in June, attacks Wisconsin's leading Socialist. Father Hagerty has spoken in Milwaukee un-

der Social Democratic auspices.

His denunciation is calmly made, and apparently fully considered. As Mr. Berger converted Eugene V. Debs to the Socialist cause, and Mr. Debs is now one of Father Hagerty's warmest co-workers in the new movement, the disagreement between them is causing national attention. Mr. Berger is now trying to locate Mr. Debs, to induce him to withdraw his support from the new movement.

In the meantime charges have been preferred against Mr. Berger by William Trautmann, former editor of the Brewery Workers' Journal, and he will go to Chicago in connection with this matter shortly. This, and the recent fight over participation in the judicial election in Milwaukee, are involving the Social Democrats in some remarkable situations.

Continuing, Father Hagerty said: "In what I have to say concerning the men who oppose the new industrial union movement I wish to be guided by the principle which the great Karl Marx lays down in the preface to his work on Capital, namely, that 'here individuals are dealt with only in so far as they are the personifications of certain economic categories, embodiments of particular class relations and class interests. My point of view, from which the evolution of the economic formation of society is viewed as a process of natural history, can less than any other make the individual responsible for relations whose creature he socially remains, however much he may subjectively raise himself above them.'"

"The attitude of Victor L. Berger and his immediate followers in Milwaukee toward the industrial union movement must be viewed in the light of the economic category to which Mr. Berger belongs, to wit, that of the professional politician who is ever ready to sacrifice the interests of the working class to the vote-getting needs of practical politics."

"An industrially united working class is not essential in the game of politics; and therefore Mr. Berger can look unmoved upon the defeat of a strike, provided the defeat means more 'striking at the ballot box' for Victor L. Berger. This, in general, is the attitude of the purely parliamentary Socialist, who sees

(Continued on page 6.)

THE POSITION

NECESSARY TO MAKE A TRADES UNION AS EFFECTIVE AS POSSIBLE.

Detroit Architectural Wire, Iron and Metal Workers' Union No. 4, Listens to an Interesting and Instructive Address on the Subject.

Detroit, Mich., April 14.—The following is the complete address delivered by Herman Richter on the 10th instant, before the Architectural Wire, Iron and Metal Workers' Union, No. 4, of this city:

Fellow Wage Workers:

"In order to present to you the proper position for a trades union to occupy, I must ask your cooperation, and must demand from you that you make an effort to get a clear conception of the wage workers' present social position, as upon this understanding a right or a wrong, a proper or an improper, answer will be the result. As time is limited, I am forced to proceed with the mere statement of facts whether you agree with them at present or not. The presentation of exhaustive proof and evidence, I must leave for some future time."

What is the wage workers' present relation to Society or all the rest of mankind, as shown under its two aspects—political and economic?

Firstly—Politically, what is the relation of the wage worker to all other persons, regardless of his or her occupations, regardless of his occupation. He is the equal of all other citizens, at least theoretically, and even legally. Although he is a wage worker, on Election Day he is the equal of the multimillionaire in most of the States. In some States, as Georgia, Virginia and others, this political equality has been either modified or wiped out by educational qualifications, or by being a pauper or public charge; but in most of the States it prevails.

(Continued on page 3.)

GRAND JUNCTION

COMPARES NOTES.

Grand Junction, Colo., April 7.—Our city election is now over and the result shows that the tried and true Socialist Labor Party is still in the ring. Our vote shows a gain in the city since last fall's election.

While we may not be able to secure the official count for several days, yet the following is the vote secured from the city clerk and we believe it to be about right.

Mayor, Socialist Labor Party, sixty-seven.
Clerk, Socialist Labor Party, eighty.
Clerk, Socialist party, fifty-eight.
Marshal, Socialist Labor Party, fifty.
Marshal, Socialist party, forty-eight.
City treasurer, Socialist Labor Party, seventy-two.

City treasurer, Socialist party, seventy-six.

Police magistrate, Socialist Labor Party, sixty-seven.

Police magistrate, Socialist party, sixty-six.

Street supervision, Socialist Labor Party, sixty-three.

Street supervision, Socialist party, sixty-six.

Alderman, First ward, Billings, S. L. P., twenty-four; S. Keggs, twenty-one.

Alderman, First ward, S. P., Crawford, seventy-eight; Grady, fifteen.

Alderman, Second ward, S. L. P., Burkhardt, sixteen; Kucera, fourteen.

Alderman, Second ward, S. P., Montague, seventeen.

Alderman, Third ward, S. L. P., Cannell, seventeen.

Alderman, Third ward, S. P., Campbell, twenty-six; Goodman, twenty-four.

Alderman, Fourth ward, S. L. P., Coulson, seventeen; Eggers, seventeen.

Alderman, Fourth ward, S. P., McClinch, nine; Van Buren, thirteen.

Last fall the highest vote received in the county for the Corregan electors was 104, while one of the Corregan electors received but ninety-six in Mesa County. The Debs electors received from 198 to 200 votes in the county.

The Socialist Labor Party comrades are well pleased with the result of the election and are in hopes we may continue to gain until we win.

When the "Socialist" party first started up in Mesa County they attracted a large number of people wanting middle class economics. Little by little this class has dropped out of their party, until at last they have reduced their party to a small band of hard workers that want the real stuff. The small vote they received this spring counts for more than the large vote they received two years ago last fall, when they received over 500 votes in the county.

There has been no "explosions" in Grand Junction and we are not looking for any, but the members of both the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist party have decided on a plan that we believe should be taken up all over the country, as the plan is such as will enable the strong to help the weak, and what we all want is more light, so we have decided to teach each other and learn from each other all we can. The enclosed makes clear our plan of action.

The members of both the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Party of Grand Junction decided that the enclosed should be sent to both the Weekly People and the Appeal for publication with a hope that all other papers that want Socialism may copy the same.

Hoping that the comrades everywhere may take this plan up and push it, I am for the Socialist Republic.

S. B. Hutchinson.

(Enclosure.)

RESOLUTION.

At A regular business meeting of Section Mesa County, Socialist Labor Party, held Sunday, March 19, 1905, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we, the members of Section Mesa County, Socialist Labor Party, desirous of doing all in our power to ultimately unite all the clearest, uncompromising, class conscious working class men and women in one working class political organization, and

Whereas, There are now two political organizations, one, known as the Socialist Labor Party, and the other known as the Socialist party, both claiming to represent the best interests of the working class, and both battling for supremacy; therefore, be it

Resolved, First, That we consider it the duty of every member of both the above-named organizations to drink deep at the fountain of political science and try and discover why we are divided in this great struggle for the emancipation of the working class. As it means to this end, we invite the members of the Socialist party local of Grand Junction, Colorado, to co-operate with us in such an investigation.

As a means to this end we will suggest that Section Mesa County, Socialist Labor Party, furnish the members of the Grand Junction local of the Socialist party from week to week with the official organ of the Socialist Labor Party, the Weekly People, with the understanding that the members of said local are to read said paper with care and mark any and all articles they may find in said paper, that they believe to be unsound, untrue or inconsistent.

The Grand Junction local of the Socialist party to provide the members of Section Mesa County, S. L. P., with "The Appeal to Reason" (or some other Socialist party paper), from week to week with the understanding that said Socialist Labor Party members are to read the papers with care thus furnished them, and mark any place or part they believe to be unsound, untrue, or inconsistent, and the members of each party to save all the papers thus marked and bring them to a joint meeting of the two parties (said joint meetings to be held at least twice each month), to try, in a friendly way, to discover wherein the articles thus marked are unsound, untrue, or inconsistent.

S. B. Hutchinson,

Organizer.

J. A. Cannell,

Secretary.

Section Mesa County, S. L. P.

At a regular meeting of Grand Junction Local Branch, Socialist party, held March 26, 1905, the above resolution was endorsed, invitation accepted and "The Appeal to Reason" chosen as the Socialist party paper to be sent to the members of Section Mesa County, Socialist Labor Party.

Miss Gertrude Walsh,

Organizer.

Jas. A. Johnson,

Secretary.

Grand Junction Local Branch, Socialist Party.

GERMAN COMBINES

INCREASE RECORD

Nothing could more clearly mark the rise and decline of industrial and general business prosperity in a highly organized and progressive country like Germany than the record from year to year of the founding of incorporated companies for various purposes of manufacture, mining, transportation, and banking and the subsequent drawing together of these individual units into cartels, syndicates, and other forms of combination to meet new conditions as they arise in respect to the control and purchase of materials and the sale of finished products.

Beginning with the high-water period (1898-99) of the German development, the record of corporate organization in each successive year, is concisely as follows:

Year	Companies organized and incorporated.	Total capital.
1898	329	\$110,341,800
1899	364	129,504,820
1900	261	81,029,480
1901	158	37,564,000
1902	87	23,319,140
1903	84	71,400,120
1904	104	33,474,700

The apparent paradox shown in the figures for 1903 and 1904, whereby the number of companies formed during the latter year is shown to have increased, while their aggregate and average capital declined more than fifty per cent, came from the fact that in 1903 the great

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ELEVENTH EXPLOSION

MORE TO COME

LOCAL CINCINNATI, SOCIALIST PARTY.

Headquarters, 1232 Elm Street.
W. W. Larimer, Corresponding Secretary, 571 Delta Ave. Cincinnati, Ohio.

Cincinnati, O., April 7, 1905.

Editor Weekly People, New York.

Comrade—The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the City Central Committee of Local Cincinnati, S. P. and copies ordered sent to the party press.

Fraternally,
W. W. Larimer, Cor. Sec'y.

W. W. Larimer, Cor. Sec'y.

"WEEKLY PEOPLE RED LETTER DAY."

May 1, 1905.

WEEKLY PEOPLE,
2, 4 & 6 New Reade St., New York, N. Y.

Enclosed find cents to pay for Weekly People for a term of months.

(50 cents, 12 months; 25 cents, 6 months).

Send to:

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Name of sender:

Address

Title of book chosen

Now, altogether, one strong and mighty pull—and the circulation of The Weekly People is doubled!!

To Bakers and Confectioners

Bakery and Confectionery Workers of America!

Fellow workmen:—Before me is the constitution of the Bakery and Confectionery International Union of America. The introduction to the declaration of principles, proclaims the class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class in the plainest language. It goes further and states, that the workmen possess nothing but their labor-power, which they must sell to the possessors of the means of production, in order to live. Further, it is also asserted that

"The interests of the capitalist class consists in buying the labor-power of the working class as cheaply as possible and to amass wealth."

"The laboring class receive for the produce of their labor only as much as is necessary to live a life of misery and starvation."

"Every improvement of machinery, every new discovery of hitherto unknown forces of nature, the capitalist class appropriates to itself for the exclusive purpose of increasing its possessions; through this process, human labor is more and more replaced by machinery."

"The workers having become superfluous, are compelled to sell their labor-power at any price in order to save themselves from starvation. The value of labor power gradually decreases, the laboring people are being impoverished more and more; its consuming power is more and more lessened and the consequences are, that the commodities produced remain upon the market, without being bought by anyone; commercial stagnation sets in, production is decreased and even partly suspended and we have 'hard times'."

"The proprietors class press into their service the power of State, the Police, Militia, Press and Pulpit to protect their possessions" which the working class "has produced and to declare the 'sacredness' of private property."

"While the millions of working people are left without the means of existence, without rights and unprotected, and betrayed and sold out to the capitalist class by the State, Press and Pulpit, the arms of the Police and Militia are directed against them."

In consideration of these facts, the constitution declares further, that the working class must emancipate itself from, in short, wage slavery; that it must organize itself into one powerful body for the purpose of setting the power of organized labor against the power of organized capital."

The solidarity of the interests of labor is proclaimed and, mind you, fellow workmen, our constitution goes so far, as to announce, that "soon the fact will be recognized, that the entire system of production rests upon the very shoulders of the working class, and if the workers only display their firm determination and exert their power" (and what a mighty power they would have on correct lines, they do not yet recognize), "a new system of production, based upon justice, might easily be introduced."

There is no power on earth strong enough to resist the will of such a majority, if it be enlightened in regard to its rights. It would accomplish its aim and objects irresistibly. Naturally justice is upon its side. The results and triumphs of civilization have been achieved through the course of thousands of years, and with the assistance of all nations. The organized workers will come to carry out into reality these principles and they will establish a state of affairs,

under which everyone will enjoy the fruits of his labor."

For this struggle an independent labor press is declared indispensable. So far, so good; as far as the declaration of principles in our constitution is concerned. But, fellow bakery workers, what about our organization? What is the matter with it? We do not see any progress and effort to bring about the practical application of the above mentioned principles. Why is this so? I would like to explain this to you, if you will give me a hearing.

Our officers and press don't do much to enlighten the rank and file of our organization about the above mentioned class struggle. The working class of this country has a big army of parasites to support, such as "vice-presidents," "walking delegates," "organizers," who don't organize, but send from time to time fine reports about "the fine outlook for the future of local No. so and so." Then we have fake committees, etc., all of which explains, to some extent, why they do not want to enlighten the rank and file, for fear they might get smart enough to throw these parasites overboard; that is, of losing their jobs. A comrade of this city met one of these fakirs in a saloon, and noticed him exhibit a roll of bills to friends of his, with the remark, "easy money."

All the enlightenment we get from our so-called labor press is, "Organize, organize," and "See to it that every loaf of bread has a label on it." Go on your knees and beg your boss to please use the union label to help us fight him! Our label seems to be our only weapon.

I know out of my own experience, that the union label is mostly only used by such firms as see their own benefit in it; and, through this practice, use our organization as an advertisement for their goods, in order to compete more successfully against other firms. In some of these so-called union shops, there exists worse conditions of slavery, than in some non-union shops.

How weak our organization really is, could be seen best, if, for example, the Bosses' Association should decide not to use the union label any more, from a certain day on. But the Bosses' Association knows full well, that there is not much danger to its members in our out-of-date tactics, as long as we do not organize along class lines, recognizing the class struggle.

To-day you can hear workmen exclaim: "Why, what is the matter with you Socialists? Our bosses have their rights. If it was not for them, why, we would not have any work." What a notion! If the working class once takes industry in its own hands, our bosses will have to do their share of work or starve. Does not our constitution show that industry rests on labor, and not the capitalist class?

And "For goodness sake, do not bring any politics into our unions. It is too dangerous a plaything for workmen. They might get it into their cranium some day, to take the reins of government into their own hands; in other words, establish the co-operative commonwealth! What an idea for these ignorant workmen to entertain!" Such is the language of our enemies.

The workman does not own or control capital. He is not a factor in the state, except as a voter, a function he always exercises by voting for the parties of his employers. The police arrest his pickets, the militia bayonet his sympathizers, the court enjoin his strikes, the "labor" legislators pass laws that are either declared unconstitutional

or become dead letters. But "the time is fast coming when, in the natural course of social evolution, our present system of planless production, through the destructive action of its failures and crises, on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalist combinations, on the other hand, will have worked out its own downfall," and thus compel the working class to act economically and politically.

One reason why the Bosses' Association does not fight us more than it does now, is, that its members are afraid the result will be a better and up-date workmen's organization. When the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was established some years ago, a Senator exclaimed, after reading the principles of said organization, "That is the way the working men are organizing now,"—as a warning!

We are expected to spend our time and energy on our label. Of course, if we spend our time this way we have no time for education along class lines. The union label was an effective weapon, perhaps, years ago, when production was carried on on a small scale, but it is of no benefit to us, as it is used to-day. We must keep step with modern production, and this is possible only in a modern labor organization.

By modern, we understand an organization working along industrial lines. For example, we of the bakers' trade have to organize all workers that have anything to do with the same, such as bakers, helpers, engineers, teamsters, etc., into one solid body. I wish to state right here, that because we were not organized on these lines, most of our strikes have been lost and have cost us thousands of dollars. Extra assessments have driven away many a good member. It is my honest belief, had we been organized along the right lines, these strikes would not have lasted one week, and would have been won.

The same fate we see overtaking other organizations. For example in the brewery industry, teamsters and firemen were permitted to work (scab) while brewery workmen were on strike. And union coal miners of one part of the country work with the sanction of their leaders, while those in another part are out on strike. What "solidarity"! Thousands of similar cases could be cited in the history of trades unionism pure and simple; yet all this don't seem to have any effect on our national officers, (or is it too much trouble for them to be bothered with such affairs?), with the exception of Joseph Schmidt and John Guild. I see the signatures of the latter under a manifesto, sent out from Chicago, to all progressive labor organizations of the country, inviting them to send delegates to a convention which is to be held on the 27th of June in the city of Chicago for the purpose of forming a new labor organization along industrial lines, an idea, which, again and again, was overruled in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, through the capitalist hirelings and union (mis)leaders, Sam Gompers, John Mitchell, and Co. that "famous" body of "labor" leaders we sometimes find at the banquet tables of the capitalist class, and worse.

High initiation fees (I understand in some cases as high as twenty-five dollars and more), high dues and assessments, which form, so to speak, a Chinese wall around our organization, are another cause why we can not make any progress, and that stamps our organization a

job trust. This state of affairs keeps away many intelligent workers. Through this practice we ourselves produce the so-called "scab."

Bakery and Confectionery Workers of America! The working class of this our mother earth forms the only useful part of society—all the rest are parasites—and has a mission to fulfill; and that is, to end the regime of the capitalist class—which only exists since the development of machinery and other tools of production—and its planless and idiotic mode of production, as mentioned in our declaration of principles; and establish a better and more just system of production through Socialism; and to reach our final goal, that is, the co-operative commonwealth, under which system any man willing to do his share of work will be able to lead a life worth living and as it ought to be lived.

Is it really necessary, that one part of the working class works, say 10, 12, 14 or more hours a day, while the other part is unable to find employment, or sell their labor power for so and so much a week? Even in the baking industry machinery has revolutionized production! For example: Where formerly one man could make only about 300 to 500 loaves of bread a day, 1,000 and more loaves are allotted to one man for one day's work to-day; and he don't have to be a skilled workman at that. (That is why we need helpers in our organizations, even if they don't stay at the trade long enough! It will cause a big propaganda and they will make better revolutionists, if properly educated. "Young America" is all right if properly educated. I for one, claim, that in our modern bread factories the work can be done to-day with one third bakers and about two thirds helpers.)

Small bakeries have enough to do to keep above water; and the time will come when they will be unable to compete with their big competitors. Which of my fellow workers will deny that, for example, in, say, a city of 200,000 inhabitants, as the case may be, even under the present system of society our work could be done in less than 3 or 4 hours a day, provided the same amount of workers as are working in small shops to-day, was to work in equal changing shifts in say 4 of 5 of our modern bread factories? I only want to prove by this, what a blessing modern machinery would be, if used under the right system, which is entirely impossible under private property, for many reasons.

Or is it necessary that 30 per cent. of our population can lead a life of luxury and plenty in idleness, while about 70 per cent. of the population which consists of the working class, live in want and misery, because the capitalist class robs the working class out of about 83 cents of each dollar's worth they have produced?

Fellow Bakery Workers! To make all the foregoing a reality, you are called upon by the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance to help build up a powerful organization which will be able, some day, to take industry into its own hands and emancipate ourselves from wage slavery, that is, to fulfill our mission.

Many a one I hear exclaim, "What is the use? It is impossible and will never come."

To those I wish to say that the same was said of chattel slavery 50 years ago, and, in spite of all, it was abolished. History will repeat itself. You have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to gain!

The capitalist class has fulfilled its mission and is rotten ripe for overthrow. It is only of use to keep order until our labor organizations will be strong enough to take industry into our own hands. The evolution of human society doesn't know any rest. History teaches that whenever a certain system of society has become useless, another will take its place.

Fellow workmen! It is not enough, to organize into industrial organizations. We must also help along on the political field. The capitalist class controls the police, militia, judiciary, and legislative and executive branches of government, with which they can defy us on the economic field. We must try to get that powerful weapon into our own hands. We must, therefore, join the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party of America, which calls upon the wage workers to organize under its banner into a class conscious and determined body to fight the capitalist class on the political field and go hand in hand with the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance on the economic field.

The history of the United States of America shows that the first strike on record was that of the bakery workers of New York City in 1742. Be men to-day! Lead the way again! Quit the rotten graft and scab organization of the American Federation of Labor and join the ranks of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party.

We do not have to wait for the above mentioned Industrial Union Convention of Chicago, because the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is an organization on industrial lines already in existence and forms the only bona fide labor organization in this country proclaiming the class struggle.

I know full well that, through bringing this before you, I will run the risk of being called "scab" and "traitor" to our movement. To those inclined to use such language, I should like to say:

Who is the traitor: the one who is trying to bring progress? or the one willingly advocating outworn tactics, counting on the ignorance of the rank and file and, through this practice, keeping our movement reactionary? Brothers, it is up to the rank and file to act!

Others I hear exclaim: "Why did you not bring this matter before our organization, through our own press, and through the medium of the general vote and convention?"

To those I wish to state that this was tried in other organizations, for example, by the rank and file of the Bakery Workers, with very little success, and I think it impossible to try to fight the devil with his own weapons. Any intelligent workman can help along these lines. Bring this matter before your meetings, and if you are not able to transfer your local from said American Federation of Labor, then try to organize a new local under the only bona fide labor organization—the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. With ten or more members you can get a charter. For further information call or write to the General Secretary of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, John J. Kinnally, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City.

Yours truly, for the Social Revolution,
Emile Guth.

Member Bakers' Local No. 73, Louisville, Ky.

The Paris Commune

By Karl Marx, with the elaborate introduction of Frederick Engels. It includes the First and Second manifestos of the International Workingman's Association, the Civil War in France and the Anti-Plébiscite Manifesto. Near his close of the Civil War in France, turning from history to forecast the future, Marx says:

"After Whit-Sunday, 1871, there can be neither peace nor truce possible between the Workingmen of France and the appropriators of their produce. The iron hand of a mercenary soldiery may keep for a time both classes tied down in common oppression. But the battle must break out in ever growing dimensions, and there can be no doubt as to who will be the victor in the end—the appropriating few, or the immense working majority. And the French working class is only the vanguard of the modern proletariat."



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It Grinds Out and Then Grinds Down the Class of the Proletariat.

In all countries in which the capitalist system of production prevails, especially in such countries as the United States where capitalism has reached the point of production on a large scale, we find the population divided mainly into two classes: First, the capitalists, who possess the means of production—tools, machinery, land, etc., but who take no part in production itself; and secondly, the wage workers, the proletariat, who possess nothing but their labor power, on the sale of which they live, and whose labor alone brings forth the whole wealth of the land.

Capitalists need a large supply of proletarians; originally, in other countries and in ages gone by, forcible methods were resorted to, to furnish this requisite supply. To-day, however, in the United States especially, such methods are no longer needed. The superior power of capitalist production on a large scale over small production is to

day sufficient, without doing open violence to the law or to private property, but, on the contrary, with the very assistance of these, year in year out to strip of all property a sufficient number of small farmers and industrialists, who are then thrown upon the streets, who merge with the mass of the proletariat, and who thereby satisfy the ever increasing capitalist demand for more human flesh.

That the number of the proletariat is steadily on the increase in this country is such a palpable fact that even they no longer attempt to deny it, who would make us believe that society to-day rests upon the same basis that it did a hundred years ago, and who try to paint in rosy colors the picture of the small producer. Indeed, a revolution has taken place in the make-up of society, the same as it has in the system of production. The capitalist form of production has overthrown all others and become the dominant one in the field of industry; similarly wage labor is to-day the dominant form of labor; a hundred years ago the farming peasantry took the first

place; later, the small city industrialist; to-day it is the wage earner or proletarian.

In all civilized countries the proletarians are to-day the largest class; it is their condition and modes of thought that control those of all the other subdivisions of labor. This state of things implies a complete revolution in the condition and thought of the bulk of the population. The conditions of the proletariat differ radically from those of all other former categories of labor. The small farmer, the artisan, the small producer generally, were, namely, the owners of the product of their labor by reason of their ownership of the means of production; contrariwise, the product of the labor of the proletarian does not belong to him, it belongs to the capitalist, to the purchaser of his labor-power, to the owner of the requisite instruments of production. True enough, the proletariat is paid therefor by the capitalists, but the value of his wages is far below that of his product.

When the capitalist in industry—and let it be here said, once for all, that at

the present stage of development in production, agriculture is as much an industry as any other—purchases the only commodity which the proletarian can offer for sale, to wit, his labor power, he does so for the only purpose of utilizing it in a profitable way. The more the workman produces, the larger the value of his product. If the capitalist were to work his hands only long enough to produce the worth of the wages he pays them, he would clear no profits. But however willing the capitalist is to pose as the benefactor of suffering humanity, his capital cries for "profits," and finds in him a willing listener. The longer the time is extended during which the workmen labor in the service of the capitalists, over and above the time needed to cover their wages, the larger is the value of their product, the larger is the surplus over and above the capitalist outlay in wages, and the larger is the quantity of exploitation to which these workmen are subjected. This exploitation or sacking of labor finds a limit only in the powers of endurance of the working people and in the resistance

which they may be able to offer to their exploiters.

In capitalist production the capitalist and the wage worker are not active together as the employer and the employed used to be in previous industrial epochs. The capitalist soon develops into and remains essentially a merchant. His activity, in so far as he may be at all active, limits itself, like that of the merchant, to the operations of the market. His labors consist in purchasing as cheaply as possible the raw material, labor power and other essentials, and to turn around to sell the finished products as dearly as possible. Upon the field of production itself he does nothing except to secure the largest quantity of labor from the workmen for the least possible amount of wages, and thereby to squeeze out of them the largest possible quantity of surplus values. With regard to his workmen he is not a FELLOW-WORKER; he is only a DRIVER, an EXPLOITER. The longer they work the better off he is; he is not tired out if the hours of labor are unduly extended; he does not perish if the method of pro-

duction becomes a murderous one. Of all ruling classes the capitalist is the most reckless of the life and safety of his operatives. Extension of the hours of work, abolition of holidays, introduction of night labor, damp or overheated factories filled with poisonous gases, such are the "improvements" which the capitalist mode of production has introduced for the benefit of the working class.

The introduction of machinery increases still further the danger of life and limb for the workman. The machine system fetters him to a monster that moves perpetually with a gigantic power and with insane speed. Only the closest, never flagging attention can protect the workman, attached to such a machine, from being seized and broken by it. Protective measures cost money; the capitalist does not introduce them unless he is forced thereto. Economy being the much vaunted virtue of the capitalist, he is constrained by it to save ropm and to squeeze as much machinery as possible into the workshop. What cares he that the limbs of his workmen are thereby endangered? Workmen are cheap, but large airy workshops are dear.

There is still another respect in which the capitalist application of machinery lowers the condition of the working class. It is this: The tool of the former mechanic was cheap; it was subject to few changes that would render it useless; otherwise with the machine; in the first place it costs money, much money; in the second place, if, through improvements in the system it becomes useless, or if it is not used to its full capacity, it will bring loss instead of profit to the capitalist; again, the machine is worn out not only through use but also through idleness; furthermore, the introduction of science into production, the result of which is the machine itself, causes constant new discoveries and inventions to take the place of older ones, and renders constantly, now this, then that sort of machine, and often whole factories at once, unable to compete with the improved ones before they

have been used up to their full extent; owing to these constant changes every machine is in constant danger of being made useless before it is used up; this is sufficient ground for the capitalist to utilize his machine as quickly as possible from the moment he puts it in operation; in other words, the capitalist application of the system of machinery is a particular spur that drives the capitalist to extend the hours of labor as much as possible, to carry on production without interruption; to introduce the system of night and day shifts, and, accordingly, to rear the unwholesome system of night work into a permanent system.

At the time the system of machinery began to develop, some ideologists declared the golden age was at hand; the machine was to release the workman and render him a free man. In the hands of the capitalist, however, the machine has become the most powerful lever towards making heavier the load of labor, borne by the proletariat, and to aggravate his servitude into an unbearable condition.

But it is not only with regard to the HOURS OF WORK that the condition of the wage worker and proletariat has suffered with the introduction of machinery. It suffered also with regard to his WAGES. The proletarian, the workman of to-day, does not eat at the table of the capitalist; he does not live in the same house. However wretched his home may be; however miserable his food, may, even though he may famish, the well-being of the capitalist is not disturbed by the sickening sight. The words WAGES and STARVATION used to be opposites; the free workman could formerly starve only when he had no work; whoever was not earned WAGES, he had enough to eat; STARVATION was not his lot. The unenviable distinction was reserved for the capitalist system of production to reconcile these two opposites—WAGES and STARVATION, and to raise STARVATION-WAGES into a permanent institution; yes, into a prop of the present social system.

A FEW THOUGHTS OF A WOODWORKER

EXPLANATION.

Jersey City, N. J., April 10, '05.
To the Weekly People.—The enclosed article and communication are herewith submitted for publication. The article will explain itself; yet for the sake of clearness I wish to state a few facts. I belong to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and have belonged to it ever since 1899. On January 30 I sent the article to "The Carpenter," our official organ, but failed to get it published. On March 27, or thereabouts, I mailed Mr. Frank Duffy, the editor of "The Carpenter," a letter asking for the return of the article, and the reason for not printing it, if possible. I made no statement in regard to changing, modifying, or such. I stated that I thought "The Carpenter" was the means through which the membership of the order could express its views on economics, and thought it unreasonable if we, as members, could not express our thoughts as well as writers not belonging to the order; and I mentioned "such as the continuous nonsense of Margaret Scott Hall." The answer of Mr. Frank Duffy makes reference to my grammar and spelling. The first is not what it should be; the second does not spoil the meaning of the sentence. What troubled Mr. Frank Duffy is not my grammar nor my spelling, but my thoughts. These are opposed to the brand of trades unionism and politics that grammarian and editor Duffy so learnedly and profoundly

Fraternally,
N. M. Hemborg.

THE COMMUNICATION.

United Brotherhood Carpenters & Joiners of America.
Indianapolis, Ind., April 5, 1905.
Mr. W. M. Hemborg,
65 St. Pauls Ave.,
Jersey City, N. J.

Brother Hemborg:
On March 27th you wrote me demanding that your Article entitled: "A few Thoughts of a Woodworker" be returned to you or reasons given why it has not been printed.

I am not under any obligations to give reasons why I do not print it. However, for your information I wish to say, that I cannot understand how a rambling subject, such as "A few Thoughts of a Woodworker" can be considered as "nonsense" in any sense of the word. No doubt everything in the journal is considered by you "continuous nonsense." I want to inform you that Margaret Scott Hall is one of the best writers on the Labor question in all its phases we have at the present time. If you would only follow "THE CARPENTER" month in and month out you would find many pages devoted to the "opinions of our own membership," but evidently you do not.

Again, when you sent your Article here, you did not give us permission to correct it in any shape or form, but just to print it as you sent it. Now, Brothers we could not do as the grammatical expressions in some instances are incorrect. What would the rank and file think of me as Editor if I allowed expressions like this to appear: "It is pretty clear why this is thus," yet you use that expression in your Article. I will only be too glad to print your Article or any Article you may write on the Labor question provided you leave out religion, nationality and politics, as many men are touchy on these points.

I am herewith returning you your Article as per your request. At the same time I am both anxious and desirous of having you write for "THE CARPENTER" if you feel so inclined, but under the stipulated conditions, we have the privilege to change, modify or correct your Articles if we so desire.

Hoping you will see your way out to comply with our request, I am,

Fraternally yours,
Frank Duffy
General Secretary.

THE ARTICLE.

Ever since my connection with the Labor Movement in 1899—a very short period in which, perhaps, to form an opinion as to its worth—I have tried to learn why we have an organization of Carpenters and others of all trades, and yet a stronger organization in the concentration of Capital.

To me it is pretty clear why this is thus, and, with the experience I have had in, and the knowledge gained through organized labor, I wish to ask for space in the Carpenter for a few thoughts of a "woodworker," on the problem as I see it through the "spec" of a workman—a producer.

Let me take, as a beginner to these few thoughts of mine, two resolutions found in the declaration of principles of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

"Resolved: That we as a body thoroughly approve of the objects of the American Federation of Labor and pledge ourselves to give it our earnest and hearty support."

How many union men are able to give you an answer as to what are the principles of this American Federation of Labor, and what are the means by which this Federation seeks to gain its objects? I am inclined to believe that very few could outline the objects of this Federation.

One of the fundamental principles of the American Federation of Labor is this: "to establish friendly relations between employer and employee." Another "Labor and Capital have a common cause, one cannot exist without the other," hence the phrase "Capital and Labor are brothers."

By this the average workman believes that an identity of interests exists between Capital and Labor, which cannot be true, for, if such were the case, the fortifying of separate interests would not be warranted or at all needed. If it be admitted that the interests of Labor and Capital are not identical, then we cannot look for harmony any more between them, than we can look for harmony between fire and water, and try to make them one element.

That the interests of Capital and Labor are opposed, need not be doubted by anyone if he has not failed to read of conflicts in Pennsylvania, conflicts in Colorado, conflicts in Illinois and elsewhere. Conflict is only a mild form of war. The conflicts—which we experience—are an admission that classes exist, and therefore we must term them a class struggle.

To those who have not yet become aware of the existence of a class struggle, or that classes exist, let us give proof. Take and read your favorite paper—no matter what your political opinion may be, let us agree on that point—and you shall find therein, if not to-day, some day, such a phrase as "labor market." The true meaning of that phrase, I hope you will understand, if not to-day, then some other day. You may read the same paper for ever so long, and every page of it, but you will never see such a phrase as a "Capitalist Market." This alone proves that one class of human beings are bought and sold the same as any other commodity on the market, and regulated in price by the same laws, i. e., the laws of supply and demand.

If this fact is understood by an organization as great as the American Federation of Labor, why has not that Federation established a motto such as the "abolition of classes," instead of proclaiming a "co-operation of classes," as a possible thing? If the American Federation of Labor has for its object the uniting of Labor as a class and the strengthening of its cause, why has it then established a new phrase for a division of labor, namely such a phrase as "trade autonomy," which has created a struggle within a struggle, a struggle of "crafts," and a "jurisdiction" struggle?

What is good for the bricklayer, laying bricks around a frame made by the carpenter from the lumber the lumberman helped to produce in felling the tree in the woods, and the many other different handlings of all that which goes to make a whole, ought to be good for the whole also.

This good is prevented from being a good. For instance, the bricklayer has an agreement, the carpenter one, the lumberman one, and all other "crafts" one, all expiring on different dates and hours. When one "craft" strikes, the other can only offer "moral support," and holds that pontifical document of capitalism called "agreement" up to your nose and says: "Sorry; but I cannot strike with you. I sympathize with you" and all that. You have a good organization. A backing of 2,000,000, and you proceed with your strike for some time, and get a new agreement, and the other "craft" experiences an expiration of agreement only to be met with the same treatment as its partners of the other "craft."

The next resolution in our principles reads: "Resolved, That it is of the greatest importance that members should vote intelligently; hence all members of this Brotherhood shall strive to secure legislation in favor of those who produce the wealth of the country, and all discussions in that direction shall be in order at any regular meeting, but party politics must be excluded."

Is it possible to discuss matters pertaining to legislation, or the making of laws, when we know that the laws are the expression of the rulers, or a ruling class? Politics being the art of government it is therefore necessary to touch upon it to discuss legislation. If we wish to take part in legislation we must enter the political arena. We cannot do one without doing the other. The question is then, shall we vote outright for ourselves, or come like mere beggars to party politicians with a measure favoring the wealth producers? Furthermore, we meet with this: not only must the power of legislation, but the enforcement of a law passed, be in the hands of the wealth producers, or you need

never look for its enforcement. The past will show this.

If we, as a working class, beg legislation from an opposing class, a la American Federation of Labor lobbying committee, we show ourselves as only inconsistent fools. First, we claim ourselves the producers of all wealth, and then we meekly seek redress through means of begging that to which we are entitled. If the working class is fit to attend to the wheels of industry, and fit to vote, it is a libel upon that class to declare it is not fit to legislate and govern. Can anyone dare to say that we are only voting cattle?

Supposing the owners of the means of production should all see fit to hang a padlock on their factory doors and say: "We are now going to Europe for a while. You may now take a rest for a period of twelve months." Would we all this while be discussing legislation in favor of the wealth producers, or discussing party politics?

You may say, well, this is only a supposition. Was it not declared in 1896, when W. J. Bryan was a candidate for President, that in case of his election this country would witness the greatest panic ever known? Did not a Mr. Dewey declare that it lay in the hands of twenty-five men in this country to stop every wheel of industry? Now, if it lies in the hands of twenty-five men to withhold from us that wherewith we need to live, is it not then true that their hands lie over our lives also?

Nature has created man with more needs than power; for that reason no individual can alone supply his own wants. When human beings first saw the necessity for co-operation with each other in order that the whole of humanity might thereby better be able to produce and bring forth a supply necessary for all, we find the origin of Society. If we look at things from this point—the only point—we cannot but see that no man is any more useful to society than another. As every individual is a part of society and as necessary as every part of a machine is to the machine, so each individual in society should receive the full reward of his faculties, or in plain English, the full value of his products. We cannot deny the fact that, with the machinery of production and the natural resources open to all, we would be nearer to the establishment of the so much talked about Brotherhood.

It is argued time and again that some individuals have more brains than others. This I will cheerfully admit. Yet, is it possible that the man with the largest brains, if left to himself, could supply all his wants any more than the man with less brains? It is not possible. To any man who will seriously look at conditions as they are, it will be seen that we socially produce and distribute even if we do not socially own and share the benefits accruing from such a social system. If the owners of the machine depended on their own efforts to produce wealth, their machines would be of no use to them, but the fact that the rest of us need clothing, food and shelter compels us to go to them if we wish to live. In striving to procure legislation in favor of the wealth producers we must not go to the owner of the machine, who, it is reasonable to believe, will not give us legislation any more than we may expect him to give us his machine.

The owners of the machine have their representatives in the legislative halls, and the wealth producers therein—in the lobby. With a labor organization of 2,000,000 strong, or more, in the United States, and not a single representative in Congress, it looks very weak for a movement such as we have. Even the despised European monarchies and empires are doing better in their labor movements than we.

Everything imported from Europe has been improved upon; why not improve upon the Trades Union Movement also? The very same tactics used forty years ago are followed now as then. By all means let us improve upon it; the developments of our time demand it.

If the strike on the economic field is a failure, let us try the political field. What say you, brother carpenters?

N. M. Hemborg.
Local No. 118, Jersey City, N. J.

ELEVENTH EXPLOSION.

(Continued from page 1.)

sonal attack on our national committee-man, in the Social Democratic Herald, and other papers; such conduct we believe to be improper because it confuses the issue and as not being in line with Socialist tactics.

Resolved further, That inasmuch as the refusing to nominate and the endorsement of said capitalist candidate was done with the full knowledge and consent (according to Berger) of Local Milwaukee, that the State Committee of Wisconsin shall declare the local charter of Milwaukee revoked and send an organizer there to reorganize the city, failing in this the National Committee shall declare the charter of Wisconsin revoked and proceed at once to reorganize the state.

Resolved further, That Victor L. Berger be unseated as a member of the National Committee.

On the Chicago Manifesto

[These columns are open for the discussion to Party members and non-Party members alike.]

From J. A. Stromquist, Member Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.

Phoenix, Ariz., March 3.—Whatever may be the result of the prospective convention for which the call has been issued from Chicago, I believe that Comrade Bohn did right in morally committing the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance to take part therein for, whereas, the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance certainly has nothing to lose by such action, it has much to gain. I am therefore strongly in favor of the suggestion made in a previous contribution by another Party member that the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance set to work and select six of its number who possess the necessary qualifications and send them as delegates to the proposed convention with proper credentials and BINDING INSTRUCTIONS as to what policies they shall there be permitted to commit their own organization to. For reasons which should be obvious, I consider the latter proviso absolutely indispensable, but, obvious as they SHOULD BE to every member of the Socialist Labor Party or the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, the contribution from Comrade Octave M. Held, appearing in the Daily People of February 23, forces me to the conclusion that there are still comrades who, after all their talk about class consciousness, "no compromise," etc., cannot see things that way and are ready to deny the principle on which the world-wide Socialist movement was launched into existence and on which it has marched from victory to victory, in order to grasp the large-loomed, but deceptive shadow known as OPPORTUNISM. It would be well for such comrades to take to heart the moral of the fabled dog who, when crossing a clear stream holding a juicy meat-bone in his mouth, saw the reflection thereof in the water and, thinking it was another bone, grasped at it, with the result that he lost both. One CANNOT compromise on principle and those who are now, figuratively speaking, ready to open their mouths in order to grasp the proposed new union even at the cost of denying their class consciousness, such will inevitably lose, not only the shadow at which they are grasping, but with it will vanish the "bone" they now have, the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.

I will try to make plainer my point of view by quoting part of Comrade Held's letter. Having shown that the argument (mainly advanced, in my experience by "cold-footed" and half-hearted members) that the time is "not yet ripe" for a class conscious trade union is false; the comrade continues: "It must start with a numerical strength, mighty enough so that it can at the very first combat the forces from which it severs connections, and prove itself at the very start the equal if not the superior of its antagonist; ONE MIS-MOVE AT THE START MAY BE THE MEANS OF PUTTING THE ORGANIZATION SEVERAL YEARS BACK."

And again: "Right or wrong, the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is impotent to accomplish the mission for which it was set. ITS NAME, if nothing else, EXCLUDES the very forces which shall make it mighty. . . . Imagine some individuals, stating an organization of labor named Republican Knights of Labor and at a glance you will see what effect this will have amongst those WHO LOOK AT THINGS ONLY SUPERFICIALLY" (?) (superficially?) "the word Socialist goes hand in hand with Democratic, Republican, Prohibitionist, etc. Only its political aspect appears. This was probably the error the members of the Chicago conference detected in the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance."

And again: "IF THESE PREMISES ARE RIGHT" . . . well that is certainly the point on which the comrade's specious reasoning hinges, and it will bear examination; but first I will reproduce the conclusion, the logical result of this kind of reasoning, and it is summarized in the following astounding declaration: "An economic organization based upon the principles that demands the full product of labor for the class that creates it NEED NOT BE AFFILIATED with any political party." The caps are all mine throughout.

It is an axiom that, if one's premises are right, the reasoning from those premises will lead to true conclusions, provided one reasons logically. The test of Comrade Held's argument is, therefore, whether or not, her premises are correct. Her premises are that, the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is impotent because: first, it endorses a political Socialist party; second, it has the word Socialist in its name, etc., which facts "exclude the very forces which should make it mighty," and yet we are told in the next few lines that

those "very forces" are composed of "those who look at things only superficially." One is therefore left to infer that the forces of the Social Revolution are to be recruited from the ranks of those who are too ignorant to understand the economic application of the word Socialism, or too frightened to join a movement which CALLS ITSELF what it IS, Socialist. The premises being so hollow, the reasoning from them and the conclusions it draws, vanish into thin air with equal facility for it is preposterous to suppose that a man who is afraid to belong to a Socialist union knows or cares enough to vote for revolutionary Socialist party on election day and the assumption that he does is on a par with the "Kangaroo" policy of making society Socialist before society is aware of the fact; yanking Socialism in by the back door, as it were. As has been emphasized in our official organ time and again UNIONISM AND POLITICS ARE ONE AND INSEPARABLE, the political party of labor is the vanguard, as it were, of the army of the revolution, the economic organization is the main army and the reserves. The former storms and occupies the outposts and advanced positions of capitalism, but it depends on the latter whether these positions shall be held, or have to be again given up to the enemy, and when ultimately the general advance shall be sounded for the final overthrow of capitalism, then the vanguard will merge into one with the main army and the internal organization of the LATTER will have to supply the first administration for the conquered commonwealth and evolve order out of chaos. It is therefore unthinkable for a class conscious Socialist to have a union which sheers off in fright at the word Socialist, and it is my opinion that the delegates to the Chicago convention selected by the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance (if any be sent), should be instructed to insist upon endorsement of the Socialist Labor Party as an indispensable condition for merging the identity of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance with that of the possible, new, union. As I understand that representation in the proposed convention will be in ratio to the membership of the various unions represented, the vote of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance delegates will amount to practically nothing and we must concentrate our efforts on presenting strong and convincing arguments and our delegates should be men who have a recognized ability on those lines. The presence of Editor Simons, Ernst Untermyer and other pure and simple, American Federation of Labor Kangaroos, will insure a hot battle if not a victory for re-action, and consequently we shall leave no stone unturned to insure success.

The new union, if one is organized, will be either a glorified American Labor Union, as is perhaps most likely, and in which case we will have to continue our educational campaign as at present, or it will be a glorified Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, and will mean the crowning triumph of our hitherto unflinching, class conscious propaganda and it is THAT we must aim to make it. As to the two remarks in Comrade Held's letter which I first quoted, the idea that the new union should at the outset be strong enough to combat the forces from which it severs connections; such a state of things is no doubt devoutly to be wished for, but it would seem to be flying in the face of evolution to think it possible, as it pre-supposes, simultaneously, the arrival of a large number of men at an equal state of knowledge and determination. As to the contention that "the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is impotent to accomplish the purpose for which it was organized," it is disproved by the call for convention itself, as it is well understood and publicly admitted by some of the signers of that "manifesto" that the persistent and uncompromising propaganda carried on by the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party in the past is largely responsible for the issuance of that "manifesto."

This, of all others, is no time for "tiredness" and it is NEVER time for compromise. Things are "coming our way" all right, and now, if ever, is the time for hard, earnest and unrelenting work, work that will TELL. With one of Comrade Held's maxims, I unreservedly agree—it is a warning to all—"ONE MIS-MOVE AT THE START MAY BE THE MEANS OF PUTTING THE ORGANIZATION SEVERAL YEARS BACK." I would amplify it and say: one COMPROMISE now will break up the Socialist Labor Party, give us all this work to do over again and set the Socialist movement

back for several years. So let us make no mistakes; it is better to perish in a true cause than to prosper in a false one and better still is the maxim, heretofore characteristic of the Socialist Labor Party—"out of two evils choose NEITHER." Well we won't have to, as we are going to win this time, so:

"Let us then be up and doing
With a heart for any fate,
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labor, BUT DON'T WAIT!"
with apologies to the poet.

THE POSITION.

(Continued from page 1.)

Secondly—On the economic field, which treats of the production, distribution and consumption of things produced, the situation is different. There, the relation of the workman to his particular boss is one of inequality. It is the relation of superior and inferior; of master and slave.

Most workmen, from a lack of information and through the influence of "our" public press and speakers, are led to believe that, because they are equal politically, they necessarily are equal economically; which is not true, as you may know from personal experience.

What is the cause of this inequality on the economic field? To answer this question, we must take note of the fact that we live in capitalist society, that is, the means of production and distribution are owned privately by one or more individuals. The means of production and distribution have grown to such a size that they can not be successfully operated by their owners alone; and they have become so costly that only a limited number could possibly acquire them, excluding all the rest of mankind. But the non-owners of the tools have to secure the means to live. They can not secure this living without the use of these privately owned means of production and distribution. How do our non-owners get access to these tools? They cannot sell themselves to the owners outright, because the capitalists—the owners of the means of production and distribution: the tools, in brief—do not want their persons; they only need "hands" to work the machine or to transfer the raw material into articles of exchange. Besides, it would be highly immoral to purchase a person in a politically free country, even if the morality of the capitalist class does spring from a consideration of dollars and cents.

"Business is business," say our capitalist to the non-capitalist in search of a job. "What can you do?"

"I am an architectural iron worker. I can shape iron into artistic commodities."

"I can use your ability," comes the rejoinder; "therefore we will make a contract, as is usual between free men. You give me your ability for ten hours each day, and I pay you three dollars for it: agreed?"

"Yes."

Our non-capitalist, by this bargain, becomes a "hand," a wage worker. He cannot deliver his ability as an iron worker except he delivers his person, as his ability exists within his body. By selling his labor power, his ability, to the capitalist, the worker himself becomes a commodity, a ware. The relation of the wage worker on the economic field is the relation of an article, a commodity, to that of a purchaser, it is the relation of a thing to a man. Our capitalist only bought the architectural iron worker's labor power, a commodity. That this commodity had also the desires and necessities of a human being is none of the capitalist's business; that is the seller's, the worker's, own look out.

In the foregoing we have a rough outline of the wage workers' present position in society, but before we proceed to lay down the attitude of the trades union movement, which this relation logically demands, we must remind ourselves of a few other factors of importance. We now understand the wage worker is a commodity: his wages is the price thereof, just as two dollars is the price of a pair of pants. Political economy teaches us, and every day experience verifies it, that the price of a merchandise is set, in the first place, by the cost of production, and in the second place, by supply and demand, and it will go either above or below that figure, but it will always swing around the cost of production. So it is with labor power. The cost of labor power is the sum total of food and shelter, and other necessities generally customary in a given country, to keep the Working Class in working condition, and also enable them to raise offsprings to take their place when worn out, like a new machine replaces an old one.

We must note, furthermore, that the political power, the Government, and all existing laws, are used by the capitalist class to keep this unequal economic relation, the wage system, intact. If you are in doubt about this, all that is necessary to convince you is to go out on strike for higher wages, and the policemen's clubs, the Winchester of the dep-

uty sheriffs, and the injunctions of the judges, will furnish you all the proof free and gratis.

I take it for granted that, from what has been said, it is evident that the wage worker's interests are different, are opposed to the interests of the capitalists. An economic organization of the wage workers, having for its aim the betterment of the condition of its members, must take the position necessary to make every member realize that the interests of the wage working class are opposed to the interests of the capitalist class. It must bring home to every member the understanding that an increase in wages to the whole Working Class means a corresponding decrease in the profits of the capitalist class. Therefore, he must expect their opposition and must rely upon the strength of his fellow workers for his success. In a word, the Trades Union Movement must make class consciousness the basis of the organization.

Class consciousness will enable every worker to understand that as long as he remains a commodity, as long as capitalist rule exists, his wages will never for any length of time rise above the means of existence. He will understand the necessity of adding to his aim for better conditions at present, the effort to get out of wage slavery by changing the organization of society. That instead of being a commodity, he may become a man, economically as well as politically. Having taken this logical attitude, he will see the necessity of political activity along Working Class lines, just as he has done on the economic field.

The trades union, in order to be as effective as possible, must consider the interests of the whole Working Class. When it makes a demand for its particular trade or industry, it not only secures their support in an eventual fight, but also as a means to make secure any advantage gained. The recognition of the fact that a change on the economic field affects the political sphere, and a change politically causes a change economically, makes the class-conscious organization of all trades essential for the success of the Working Class. The class-conscious political organization promotes and defends the interest of wage workers regardless of trade or industry, while the class-conscious economic movement takes care of the particular interests of each trade or industry, but always in conformity with the interests of the entire Working Class.

This attitude or position will make the Trades Union Movement as effective as it possibly can be as long as capitalism lasts, and also prepares the material for its work for the Cooperative Commonwealth.

Mr. Octave M. Held has been secured to address the meeting of Monday, April 24, beginning at 8 o'clock p. m. Subject: "True Industrial Unionism." Meetings are held at Becker's Hall, corner of Antoine street and Adams avenue. Free discussion. Admission free. You are welcome.

SOCIALIST BOOKS.

The workingman, who begins to grasp the significance of the class struggle and desires to fit himself with the knowledge necessary for a militant Socialist, is often at a loss to know what literature to read first. To aid and direct him, the Labor News Company recommends the following elementary books, to be read in the order given.

1. What Means This Strike?
2. Reform or Revolution?
3. Socialism, by McClure.
4. The Working Class.
5. The Capitalist Class.
6. The Class Struggle.
7. The Socialist Republic.

Each of these books contains 32 pages and is sold at 5 cents. We will mail the seven books, postpaid, to one address for 25 cents.

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copy of their articles, and not to expect
them to be returned. Consequently, no
stamps should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1898.....	2,068
In 1899.....	21,157
In 1900.....	36,564
In 1901.....	34,191
In 1904.....	34,172

We have limbs like our masters;
—our hearts are as large as theirs;
—they are ten, we are thousands.
Ory of the Bretany and Normandy slaves.
"Mysteries of the People".

EUGENE SUE.

THE PRODUCTIVITY OF CRIMINALS.

Sacrosanct capital and the God-ordained capitalist—as they are exhibiting themselves by the gas investigation, the stenful revelations of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, the Standard Oil highway robberies, the railroad frauds, the "New York Times" principal stockholder, banker Schiff's sneaking defiance of law, etc., etc., all at the same time—are furnishing illustrations in a bunch of one of the most biting satires with which Marx castigated and demolished the capitalist's pretence of his contributing towards the national wealth through his "intellectual labor." Said Marx:

"A philosopher 'produces' ideas, a poet poems, a preacher sermons, a professor text-books, and so forth. A criminal 'produces' crimes. If we look more closely at the relation in which this branch of industry stands to society, not a few prejudices will drop.

"It is not crimes alone that the criminal 'produces'; he also 'produces' criminal legislation, and, as a consequence, he is also the first mover in the 'production' of the professors who 'produce' lectures thereon, along with the inevitable text-books in which these professors cast their lectures as 'goods' on the markets of the world . . .

"Furthermore, the criminal 'produces' all the criminal and correctionary branches of society—police, judges, hangmen, juries, etc., besides all the several branches of industry demanded by these, and all of which constitute just so many categories in the scale of social labor, develop different faculties of the human mind, create new wants and new means whereby to satisfy them . . .

"The criminal 'produces' an impression—good or bad, as the case may be. He thereby 'renders a service' to the moral and aesthetic sentiments of the public. It is not only text-books on criminal legislation that the criminal 'produces'; he 'produces' not merely the penal law itself, and consequently the legislators of that law. He also 'produces' art, literature, novels, even tragedies as shown by the appearance of Mullner's 'Tanjte', Schiller's 'Robbers', the 'Oedipus', and 'Richard III.' The criminal breaks the monotony and humdrum security of bourgeois life, he thereby insures it against stagnation, and he arouses that excitement and restlessness without which even the spur of competition would be blunted. Thus the criminal furnishes the stimulants to the productive forces."

It is only Truth that fits all times. The satire fitted the capitalists and their journalists who posed before Marx. It fits exactly the capitalists of our own country, their philosophers, orators and writers. How exactly, may be judged by the exhibition that sacrosanct capital and the God-ordained capitalist are making of themselves in these days.

POTATO-HEADS.

It is a pity that the funds of this establishment are chronically so low that we cannot with greater frequency regale our readers with cartoons. But for that, we could to-day delight their hearts with a certain masterpiece. Unable to reproduce the cartoon itself, we shall describe it.

The cartoon in question appeared in the Toledo "Socialist" of the 8th instant—a so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic party paper. To the left is a head marked "De Leon", and representing our comrade as physically played out as fakirism would like him to be, and has, for these many years, been trying to make him out to its dupes. A sign-board bearing the legend "Impossibilities" points in his direction. To the right, and going up in smoke, is another head; it is labeled "Berger", and makes the Wisconsin Social Democratic chieftain look as if afflicted with chronic catarrh. Pointing towards him is another sign-board, and that bears the legend "Opportunism." So far, there is nothing particular in the picture. A caricaturist is not supposed to idealize his

foes. The third picture—and now the thing grows interesting—stands in the center of the foreground, it is a man walking on a straight, broad road labeled "Straight Socialism", and at the further end and goal of which is the head of Karl Marx in a sun-burst. It is in the drawing of the individual walking up that road, and representing the genius of the Toledo "Socialist", that the artist excelled himself. As the product of a true artist, the idealized genius is true to the fact. His face cannot be seen—it is facing Marx; only his back can be seen—the back of his head—it is unmistakably a potato-head, well sketched, boldly drawn.—That was a stroke of genius!

A potato-head must be he who imagines that a political party of Socialism in America needs not an economic organization to stand on—in other words, that it can stand in the air.

He who furthermore imagines that an economic state of organization, which, instead of solidifying, compels the Working Class to be at perpetual feud, can possibly be reflected in a united and powerful political organization of Socialism,—he must be doubly a potato-head.

He who considers opportunism towards the economic movement the proper tactics, and balks at the inevitable result thereof—political opportunism—he must be a triple potato-head.

One itches to see the face of the potato-head in the picture: only the back of his head is seen; but here again the artist proved himself a genius: though the face is not visible, directly, we are given a clear hint as to what it looks like: it is reflected on the opposite face of Marx: the keen-witted philosopher looks positively perturbed at the sight of the hair-pin that is ambling up towards him.

No wonder!

OPEN LETTER TO JOHN F. O'BRIEN, SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, AND FRANCIS HENDRICKS, SUPERINTENDENT OF INSURANCE.

Sirs:—
We hereby submit to you the following facts, and ask the following questions:

First—Mr. Jacob H. Schiff is a director of the Equitable Life Assurance Society;
Second—Mr. Jacob H. Schiff is a member of the firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. of this city;

Third—The said firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. sold in the course of last year to the said Equitable Life Assurance Society \$22,000,000 worth of railroad bonds, netting the firm about \$500,000;

Fourth—Section 36 of the Insurance Law of this State reads:
"No director or officer of any insurance corporation doing business in this State shall receive any money or valuable thing for negotiating, procuring or recommending any loan from any such corporation, or for selling or aiding in the sale of any stocks or securities to or by such corporation. Any person violating the provisions of this section shall forfeit his position as such director or officer and be disqualified from thereafter holding any such office in an insurance corporation"; and
Fifth—The said Jacob H. Schiff continues to hold office in the said Equitable Life Assurance Society.

These are all facts, not only of public notoriety, but subject to documentary verification. The matter falls within your province.—Why do you allow this violation of the law to continue?

Workingmen are hauled up before the tribunals of the State, and they are vindictively punished for the slightest even alleged violation of the statute.—Why is the millionaire law-breaker winked at?

We know that we are Socialists, and, consequently, frequently bracketed by the designing with criminals who should be exterminated with fire and sword. We shall not here enter into a discussion of such views. They are of no consequence to the matter in hand. As officers of the law you are aware that even convicted criminals are frequently put upon the witness-stand by the State to give State's evidence. We can, consequently, not be excluded. Moreover, the evidence in the case is all documentary, and easily accessible to you.—Why do you ignore it?

We, Socialists, consider capitalist society to be organized crime; note that, crime that is ORGANIZED. War, for instance, also is heinous and inhuman; for all that, there is a vast difference between unorganized war or brigandage, and organized warfare. Heinous though war is, even its patrons recognize the necessity of regulating it: even they punish desultory war, or desultory means, such as poisoned weapons and dum-dum balls. So with capitalist society: it also recognizes certain actions as similar to dum-dum balls, and enacts statutes against them. Such an act as Mr. Jacob H. Schiff is guilty of is the nature of a dum-dum ball: capitalist society itself so feels it, and

has enacted the statute above quoted.—Why do you allow Mr. Jacob H. Schiff to dum-dum ball society?

Sirs, your neglect of duty renders you "participes criminis"—surely a bad example for the very officials of Law and Order to set to the Working Class.—Why is this thus, and what is the reason of this thuggery?

Yours, etc.,
EDITOR DAILY PEOPLE.

THROWING TUBS TO THE WHALE.

He who imagines there is not a deep groundswell coming up in the Labor Movement of America must be living with eyes shut, if at all he has any eyes. The conduct of the Central Federated Union of this city is an instance in point.

Theoretically there must be some honest man in that crowd. The bulk of the concern, however, is well typified by Archibald, Bohm, Bama, alias Brown, and such other worthies—men who see in the Labor Movement only "their oyster", and who manage to get elected by a confiding and credulous rank and file—where they have a rank and file. The concern is essentially a Gompers affair; it is such even with respect to its brazenness in the claiming of a big membership. Of course such a concern loves and is beloved by the Civic Federation, and is simultaneously a stalking horse for the Volkzeitung's Social Democratic pets. The character of this body was well brought out during the Interborough strike. The strike started on March 7, on the following Sunday, March 13, the said Central Federated Union met in regular session. During the preceding five days the treachery of the Stones and Mahons took place. These "labor leaders" dealt the strikers a blow in the back, and simultaneously, the whole metropolitan press, the Daily People excepted, sought to poison the public mind with the slander that the strikers "broke their contract with the Company." That was the time to speak, when the Central Federated Union met. Well, it did speak with that eloquence that is instinct in silence. It was mum as a clam, limp as a dish-clout—in other words, it eloquently condoned the betrayal of the workers by the fakir national officers, and endorsed the calumnies of the capitalist press. Where it should have denounced, it kept silent, in other words, approved. Nor did it stop there. On the Sunday after it appointed a Committee to intercede for the men with Belmont, and, in the conference that the committee held with the President of the Civic Federation it betrayed the men some more—it admitted that they had "done wrong" and had "broken their contract." The sequel up to this point is logical, step by step. Presently, what do we behold? That same Central Federated Union begins to denounce Gompers and the Civic Federation!

Is this a change of heart? A Saul turned Paul?—Not in the least! The groundswell that is rising in the Labor Movement is forcing fakirism to throw tubs to the whale. They feel the necessity of doing something quickly, lest they be swamped. They are beginning to throw Gompers overboard lest Gompers perish. Seeking to save the essence, they are willing to sacrifice the figurehead. They, the stalking-horse of the Volkzeitung's Social Democracy, that, at the national convention of their party last year, thrust aside an anti-Civic Federation resolution, now feel constrained to "go for" the Civic Federation, and strike an anti-Gompers posture.

The sight is cheering. It is hard on Gompers! It is hard on Mr. Ralph Easley! It is harder still on the Central Federated Union! But such is the logic of events! The Labor or Socialist whale will not be tubbed—that consolation is in store for the tub Gompers: when he sinks to the bottom he will have the satisfaction of seeing that those who used him for a tub are themselves, in turn, used for tubs by others behind them, and are hurled after him: they may even overtake him in the sinking before he strikes bottom. Only for Mr. Ralph Easley there will be no consolation. When the Ralph Easleys discover the Tacitonian truth that a purchase from him who has no right to sell conveys no property, they will die of a broken heart, like the Chinese Emperor two generations ago, who placed his reliance on his divinely protected porcelain palace against the guns of the allied Western powers. As his chimerical porcelain bastion crumbled, so did his heart.

The following picturesque bit of editorial emphasis is now going the rounds of the press:

"A DAKOTA EDITOR'S NEEDS."

"It is reported that one of the fastidious ladies of this town kneads bread with her gloves on. This may be somewhat peculiar, but there are others. The editor of this paper needs bread with his shoes on; he needs bread with his shirt on; he needs bread with his pants on; and unless some of the delinquent subscribers to the Flag of Freedom pony up before long he will need bread with-

out a damn thing on, and North Dakota is no Garden of Eden in winter time, either.—From the North Dakota Flag of Freedom."

The editorial needs of the "North Dakota Flag of Freedom" are numerous, emphatic and full of awful possibilities. But they are not unusual or unique. The "editors" of the private-owned "Socialist", alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership papers also issue appalling horoscopes, in an endeavor to stimulate financial returns. The appeals fall on deaf ears, however. The result has been that many of these "editors," condemned to wear Edenesque costumes in a frigid atmosphere, have contracted journalistic pneumonia and died a premature death. In order to avoid a similar fate, the Dakota vielder of the shears and paste brush, should get out while the necessity for a like exposure is still somewhat distant.

"The Farmers' Co-operative Harvesting Machine Company" is an innocent looking title for a concern to have. It conjures up a picture, in which a body of farmers stand triumphant over the carcass of the farm implement trust, and the tendency to concentration, so detrimental to their interests. But the conjuration fades before the stern reality, which shows "The Farmers' Co-operative Harvesting Machine Company" to be a corporation consisting of a half-dozen "big, independent" plow, harrow, cultivator and twine companies consolidated into one, with a "monster plant" at Columbus, O. From all of which, it appears that the "farmers", instead of killing "the octopus", are contributing largely to the multiplication of his species. As large industry forces the consolidation of small industry—where it does not entirely destroy the latter—the unexpected has not happened in the matter of "co-operative" farm implement making.

"Municipal Ownership" will cost Chicago dear. The City Railway Company is reported as preparing to spend \$10,000,000 in equipment, "assured that pending negotiations for sale there will be no attempt at confiscation." The fear of confiscation herein expressed is, considering the State laws passed to permit Chicago to issue bonds to purchase the City Railway Company's systems, a master stroke of humor. It suggests the thought that if there is to be any "confiscation" it will come from the capitalists, who have a custom of fixing up and inflating the value of depreciated properties to a degree that amounts to robbery. The disclosures regarding the shipbuilding trust will substantiate this point too emphatically to please the capitalists. Hence the observation that "municipal ownership" will cost Chicago dear. Watch Chicago "municipal ownership"!

In an editorial article headed "Prices Drift Downward," "Bradstreet's" of April 15 has the following to say: "Bradstreet's" approximate index number on April 1 this year, it will be seen, was \$9,298, a decrease of 1.3 per cent. from the March 1 level, but it is still 2.5 per cent. above the level of this date a year ago, nearly 12 per cent. above the low level touched on June 1, 1901, and 42 per cent. above the low level touched on July 1, 1896."

At this rate of "drifting downward" the possibilities of prices touching bottom, as represented by the figures of July 1, 1896, are remote indeed. This view is strongly augmented by the increases in meat prices since the compilation of the above figures.

Eugene Zimmermann, president of the Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton Railroad, and father-in-law to the Duke of Manchester, in speaking of the duke's desire to become prominent in American railroad interests, recently said: "The duke's interests in the railway world as applied to the United States will be confined to traveling over them as comfortably as possible. That's how I understand duke's work, and my son-in-law is no exception." Dukes must be very much like capitalists.

A Texas legislative committee recommends that the attorney-general of that State be given \$15,000 wherewith to secure evidence to fight the trusts. Those \$15,000 are symbolical of the small resources of the trust busters. It is with such insignificant sums that they hope to overcome the billions of the trusts. They will wake up some day and realize their woful economic shortcomings.

The master printers of ten Western States and territories having thrown down the gauntlet to the International Typographical Union on the eight-hour issue, it now remains to be seen what the Eastern ones will do. A test of strength seems to be imminent. It will be watched with interest.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

The Grand Junction Scheme

Truth courts investigation. Poised in accord with fact, it confidently invites the probings of the skeptical and the queries of the uninformed. Falsehood, obversely, seeks concealment. At variance with things as they are, it fears exposure, and would bedim and obscure where light is needed.

These trite observations are applicable to all spheres of human activity, but nowhere more so than in the Working Class Movement of this country. Therein, Truth, represented by the Socialist Labor Party, has promoted inquiry, confident that the result would be in its favor; while Falsehood, hiding behind various names, such as "Socialist", alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party, has endeavored to prevent the dissemination of knowledge for fear of exposing its own fraudulency. To all inquirers who have visited the offices of The People in search of information as to which is the true Socialist party, the advice has always been given to fail not to get acquainted with the "Socialist", alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party and its literature, while making the acquaintance of the Socialist Labor Party and its publications. The inquirer was substantially told: "Here, you are a man (or a woman, as the case might be) of sufficient intelligence and honesty to want to know the truth. Don't take our statements as final. Investigate for yourself. Read both sides. Form your own opinions. Decide for yourself which is right."

And how fared inquiring visitors to the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party, as reported by many of these visitors themselves? They were substantially told: "Don't go to The People or the Socialist Labor Party. You will learn nothing of them. They are liars, scamps, rascals, scabs, popes, union-wreckers." Worse than that—the "Intellectual" headquarters of the said party of many names, not only attempted to prevent these seekers after truth from receiving the benefits of their own honesty and intelligence, but they surreptitiously circulated all imaginable falsehoods regarding the Socialist Labor Party. Possessed only of the cowardice of falsehood, they lacked the manliness and the confidence of truth. They went further. They wrote letters trying to intimidate other labor papers into dropping advertisements of Socialist Labor Party literature. By all means, that literature was not to reach the workers!

Likewise is it a matter of public knowledge that the Socialist Labor Party has ever thrown its platform open to the members of the "Socialist", alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party, who desired to attack its tactics and principles, and espouse their own. Just now, a notable example of the Socialist Labor Party's desire for truthful investigation is shown in the action of Section Grand Junction, Colo., as reported in these columns. Confident of the truth of its position, the Section has invited Local Grand Junction, "Socialist" party, to meet with it for the purpose of comparing and criticizing the contents of The Weekly People and the "Appeal to Reason", their respective party organs. Significant enough of the times, the invitation has been accepted by the Grand Junction "Socialist" party local in the spirit in which it was extended, and in striking contrast to the spirit of their party's leaders, from whom they are evidently fast emancipating themselves.

Truth is mighty and will prevail. Many are the indications that the rank and file of the "Socialist", alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party are beginning to see the light, and are repudiating falsehood. Some of their locals are beginning to send official communications to The People, and thereby indicate the current of the stream. May their number increase. When they come they will find the Socialist Labor Party now, as ever, desirous of assisting the whole Working Class by disseminating that which alone will make us free, and which all strong men will demand—full information, so as to be able to judge for themselves, and to escape being anybody's fool.

Says a London despatch, dated April 8:

"Looking over the list of the twenty-four richest people who died in the financial year just ended, it might be deduced that wealth is the surest means to life. Only one of this number was under sixty, one was ninety-nine, fourteen were over seventy, and six were over eighty. The average age was seventy-four years and six months."

Such despatches should be suppressed. What becomes of the "awful responsibilities of wealth"—the nerve-wrecked sleepless employer, harrassed to death with thoughts of those dependent upon him—"with such despatches aloft? If capitalist fallacies are to be perpetuated, the facts must be made to fit the case.

ELECTRIAL DEVELOPMENTS

The adoption of electricity on steam lines for suburban service points to the time when electricity will be the general motive power. Two weeks ago a motor car made the run from Cleveland to Detroit, a distance of 178 miles, without interfering in any way with the regular schedule, at greater speed than the average steam train makes between the two points.

Locomotive engineers on the Long Island Railroad will before very long find themselves in the same predicament as their brothers of the "L" in this city. The company expects to have the Far Rockaway branch and the lines across Jamaica Bay trestle electrically equipped before the end of June. About forty-five miles are being equipped and this is but a beginning, as the lines will extend eventually to Hewletts, Valley Stream, and Queens. The North Shore branch and the Manhattan Beach line are to be similarly equipped. Of course, the company expects not only to reduce cost of operating power, but the wage cost also. When the steam roads become electrical the aristocratic engineer becomes a motorman, and with the elimination of skill needed to run a locomotive his wages fall.

Electrical power is certainly a great displacer of labor. The latest body of workers affected, strange to say, are the drivers of the funeral coaches. Buffalo and other towns now have a regular funeral car service. One car will carry the casket and the funeral party at a charge of from \$25 to \$35 for the use of the car. Cemetery promoters are talking of establishing burial places at outlying districts, where land is comparatively cheap, and by making arrangements with trolley lines for cheap transportation hope to capture the burying business.

The trucking interests of the great cities will, in a few years, find that they too are up against it, as the expression goes. Subways for freight, as well as passenger service, are the next order of the day. Baltimore is considering plans, and in the city of Boston, a company has applied to the Massachusetts legislature for the right to build freight tunnels under the city. Despatches say that the contemplated plans are by far the greatest yet conceived.

The various switch and signal companies are bending all their efforts to perfect an electrical automatic track switch, so as to do away with switchmen. In New York City there are some 140 switching points, at many of them a day man and a night man. It is estimated that with 100 automatic switches installed the saving in wages would amount to \$146,000.

During the strike on the Interborough press of the city, with but one exception, pounded the men. Some of the strikers may have wondered why the papers were so vicious. No doubt the officials of the road could tell them the reason for it, but we will let the manager of the Shreveport, La., Company give us a hint. He says the way to keep the press of a community friendly to the company is by giving press representatives free transportation and by taking advertising space in the papers. That is, subsidize the press and thus control its utterances. Interborough seems to have the game down fine.

It is but a few years ago that steam railroad officials pooch-pooched the competition from electric lines. The steam men didn't care for the suburban business, anyway, but a great change has come over this sort of opinion and most of the steam roads are now hustling to hold the despised suburban business. The Chicago & Alton and the New York Central are making efforts to gain the lost business. The New York Central now realize that "suburban" business is co-extensive with its line from New York to Buffalo.

Out in Ohio, the Dayton & Troy Electric line is about to inaugurate a special market service for farmers. Hundreds of farmers along the route drive into the city on market days. The company offers various inducements, aside from low rates, such as baskets and crates free, and transportation for farmers' men in charge of the produce.

The announcement that American capitalists are going to build an extensive electric railroad system through the richest Chinese provinces will prove interesting from more standpoints than one. The building of such a system will not only revolutionize the primitive transportation methods of the Chinese, but will also afford an opportunity to demonstrate on a big scale the superiority of electric over steam railroads. The results, therefore, are likely to extend beyond China, and prove far-reaching.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN (approaching Uncle Sam with a confidential air)—I want to make a suggestion to you. UNCLE SAM—Let her fly!

B. J.—The Socialist Labor Party is an excellent party—

U. S.—That's a chestnut to me. What's your suggestion?

B. J.—There is no party like it—

U. S.—Is your budget of news made up of more such stale items?

B. J.—Its principles are brilliant—

U. S.—If you have no more thrilling news than you have so far imparted to me I'll have to leave you; this is my busy day.

B. J.—Just wait. It will be a glorious day for the nation the day the S. L. P. comes into power—

U. S.—Come, man; come, what have you on your heart?

B. J.—This: The thing for the S. L. P. to do is to try to—

(U. S. puts a hand to each ear so as to catch every sound.)

—do get a big and even bigger vote.

U. S.—And don't it do it?

B. J.—No; it goes about it wrong. The way it goes about it is dead wrong. It never can get votes that way.

U. S.—And what's the way you would suggest? I suppose we are now getting at your "suggestion"?

B. J.—The way to go about it is to be broader. Don't be so fastidious about whom you take in; let them all come in; don't keep out anybody.

U. S.—Go on. Go on.

B. J.—By taking in everybody, friends of all these will come over to you on election day—

U. S.—I hope not!

B. J.—There you have it! Just as I said! The S. L. P. men don't want to increase their vote.

U. S.—Weren't you telling me only yesterday that you were living on reduced rations; that since you lost your job you were so hard pushed for something to bite that you had lost fully 10 pounds.

B. J.—That's what I said. Do you know of a job for me?

U. S. (talking very confidentially)—I want to make a suggestion to you.

B. J. (eagerly)—What is it?

U. S.—The thing for you to do is to eat more, to stow more food into you.

B. J. (impatiently)—I don't need you to tell me that! I am trying hard to do that very thing.

U. S.—Ah! That's what you claim that you are doing—

B. J.—And don't I?

U. S.—No; you go about it wrong. The way you go about it is dead wrong. You never can gain flesh that way.

B. J.—And what's the way you would suggest?

U. S.—The way to go about it is to be broader. You are too fastidious about what you put into your stomach; throw

in everything, anything; stale cabbages, egg shells, potato peelings, fish bones, chicken feathers. By taking in all these things, just as they come along, or you come along them, you will—

B. J.—No, thank you!

U. S.—There you have it! Just as I said. You don't want to take in food.

B. J.—The devil, you say! I want to take in food all right, but not such stuff.

U. S.—Why not, pray?

B. J.—For the simple reason that I don't propose to commit suicide.

U. S.—And that's just why the S. L. P. refuses to take in "everybody." Such riff-raff as you say the S. L. P. is too fastidious about, and won't take, would sit on the stomach of the Party as hard as stale cabbage, egg shells, potato peelings, fish bones, chicken feathers, etc. would sit on your stomach. The Party's stomach could not digest them. The Party might possibly sooner get a big vote that way. But, in the first place, whatever that vote may be numerically, it never could reach the requisite notch and the quality would be such that the Party would be queered forever, and would die out malodorously. The Socialist Labor Party will move on for a while yet on "short rations", and it proposes to keep on that tack till itself has raised the requisite crop that, admitted into its ranks, will impart to it the necessary strength—mental, physical and moral—to fulfill its task. The S. L. P. is justly "fastidious." It takes into its system only the very best "food," tainted food it discards calmly, serenely and firmly.

CORRESPONDENCE

[CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDE THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.]

GREAT CHANGES IMMINENT.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Great changes seem to be hanging over us. Many of the workmen of what you would recognize as the foundation trades are dissatisfied. But little is to be expected from the clerical force at present. They fear and respect us, but their conceit and hopes still chain them where it has not entirely destroyed all manhood.

Watch that phrase "craft autonomy locally," which appears in the Manifesto, also those who gather about it, such as the Simons, etc. Modern production has eliminated craftism to that degree that it will destroy any movement in the very near future that bows to it.

J. E. Wallace.
Schenectady, N. Y., April 9.

WORKING FOR ONE'S SELF.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—A short time ago George W. Young retired as president of the United States Mortgage and Trust Company, a position he held for about eight years. His reason for resigning was that he believes a man can do better when working for himself, and that no man can really earn a salary equal to what he can make in business for himself. In commenting on this to the writer a well-known banker said: "I read with interest Mr. Young's statement that a man can make more money in business for himself than if he worked on a salary for any corporation. It sounds splendidly. But we know in these days when all kinds of business are being converted into stock companies, the number of trades in which a man may engage in business for himself have become so few that for the great bulk of men, even those having the mental equipment which in other years would have been sufficient to make them their own masters, there is now no other opening than that of service for some corporation. Mr. Young can start a banking firm of his own. That is one of the few fields of enterprise in which a man may engage individually, but even that requires larger capital than most people can supply. For the bulk of us, it is service for the corporation or no work at all."

H. S. Law.

New York, April 10.

NO, NONE WAS SENT HERE; PERHAPS IT WAS SENT TO THE DAILY (?) CALL(?)

To the Daily and Weekly People:—There is a report current in this city to the effect that Messrs. A. M. Simons, Editor, T. J. Morgan, et al., as soon as they learned of the slump of the Kang vote in Chicago, sent a telegram to The People, saying, "Our Daily is in the soup; will you give us a tow?" I wish to know if there is any truth in the rumor.

Chicago, Ill., April 7.

EAST ST. LOUIS ELECTION RESULTS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The municipal campaign just ended, was one of the fiercest in the history of East St. Louis. There were six parties in the field. The close race between the two whose only difference is that one is in and the other out, played havoc with all the rest.

The vote is: Socialist Labor Party, 24; "Socialist" party, 26; Union Labor party, 32; Home Protective League (Sky Pilot), 561; Independent Municipal party, 4,374; Citizens' Party, 4,325.

The Union Labor Party and the Home Protective, are new comers. Why they were born, is a puzzle.

I asked a member of the Union Labor party where Labor came in at, as I failed to find it mentioned in the platform. He pointed to the heading, and sure enough, there it was in big letters. The Home Protectors' platform did not mention Labor either, but, said one of their speakers, with a white vest and swallow tail coat, "We will not enforce the law any more than is consistent with good business, but we believe that the saloon should be closed at 12 o'clock, so the working men would have to go home and be in condition to work the next day."

The "Socialist" party is also new as a municipal party. In last fall's state election they polled 320 votes; this spring, 50. Their platform was a regulation "Socialist" party one, with "immediate demands" to match. For literature they had a special edition of St. Louis "Labor": the same St. Louis "Labor" as seven years ago. The Socialist Labor Party held street meetings and used nothing but Labor News Co. literature; so no capitalist got any of our funds.

G. A. Jennings.
East St. Louis, Ill., April 7.

WHAT ARE WE COMING TO?

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The Seattle "Star" of April 6, publishes the following:

"LESE MAJESTE IN THIS CITY."

"Frank Waite, a Mail Carrier, Lost His Job Because He Joked About A Picture of President Roosevelt."

"Lease Majeste in the United States—yes, right here in Seattle!"

"Sounds strange, but a remarkable instance of that form of throttling free speech has just been recorded in the Seattle post office."

"Frank Waite, a mail carrier on a Beacon Hill route, is the victim."

"Waite was 'fired' from the postal service, bag and baggage, Tuesday, because he jokingly made a remark about a picture of President Roosevelt last fall."

"Among the many people whom Waite had served in his capacity as a mail carrier was a woman who displayed her loyalty to party by putting a picture of 'Teddy' in her front window."

"One morning, just before the last election, Waite delivered a letter at the house and noticed Roosevelt's lithograph in the window. He, being a Democrat, remarked that the picture would look just as well in the back yard, or something to that effect."

"The remark cost him his job."

"The woman formally complained to Postmaster Stewart. Stewart took the matter up with the department at Washington. The affair reached the president's ear and, after months of official red tape, the order came back to Seattle for Waite's discharge."

"And to-day Waite has no more job than a jack-rabbit."

The superficial may be inclined to ask, after reading the foregoing: "What Are We Coming to?" But to the Socialist the matter is clear. Roosevelt personifies the concentrated political power of concentrated capitalism. In order to maintain the latter a subservient respect must be inculcated for the former, especially among the men employed in any capacity by the government, whether of the civil, the military, the naval, or the consular services, etc., etc.; for it is upon them that this power largely rests. Capitalism cannot tolerate conditions that make for insecurity and treason among the political constituents upon which it depends to perpetuate its existence; hence this punishment for lese majeste inflicted on an obscure letter carrier. But nothing will save capitalism. Its very acts of self-defense hasten its doom.

A Socialist.

Hillman, Wash., April 6.

PASADENA ELECTION.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—At the recent city election of Pasadena, the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic party received 387 votes a drop of about 20 from the presidential election last November.

L. C. H.

Los Angeles, Cal., April 7.

THE IRISH PRESS AND SOCIALISM.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—When the Socialist party of Ireland was formed in Dublin sometime in May, 1890, I became an honorary member, and the platform and demands of the party, then known as the "Irish Socialist Republican Party," were, in due time, sent to me with instructions from Comrade Connolly, to make clear to those of my countrymen whom I would enlist in the movement, that the I. S. R. P. held to the revolutionary principles of Wolf Tone and his compatriots, in opposition to the "Home Rulers," or bogus patriots.

I believed that all I had to do in order to bring out the opinion of the editors of the various Irish (?) organs, was to send the platform, etc., and ask, in the most courteous manner a fair discussion of them. Accordingly, I sent a copy to them, with the above request, to every so-called Irish newspaper published in the United States. Not one of them published the platform, or even referred to the fact that the Socialist movement was officially launched in Ireland. Notwithstanding their editorial cowardice, I believe we can, and will reach the "rank and file" of the Irish Nationalists, and when enlightened there will be no better material found in the ranks of International Socialism.

The enclosed is a letter sent in reply to a criticism of "The Gaelic American."

M. D. Fitzgerald.

Dorchester, Mass., April 11.

[Enclosure.]

IN DEFENSE OF SOCIALISM.

Dorchester, Mass., April 2, 1905.
Editor The Gaelic American:

I assume that when a movement is under discussion, that body which stands unflinchingly for the cardinal principles

of the movement and uncompromisingly holds to the kernel of the movement, must be recognized as the movement, when an analysis of its composition and tactics is on. Therefore, when the Irish movement is spoken of it cannot include the parliamentarians, political intriguers, and men who, for sake of a political job from the British Government, or an evanescent halo of patriotism, compromise the inherent right of the Irish people to make and apply their own laws, men who, for less than "a mess of pottage," enter into a state of almost conjugal felicity with the usurper, robber and invader of their country.

Neither do the men in France, who trim their sails to catch every breeze of discontent, represent "International Socialism." The Combes Ministry were not placed in governmental power in France by or through organized Socialism, but rather in opposition to it. Surely you would resent the implication that the "Irish Movement" is represented by the compromisers who, after years of arduous (?) labor have succeeded in getting Edward of England to act as chief salesman of job lots of Irish land to Irish peasants, that the latter may create or rather cause the fructification of the Irish "cannaille" who may get an Irish cottage with a patented British crown stamp on his threshold to remind him of the magnanimity of the alien government, and show him the results of the wonderful Irish valor (?) of the parliamentarians. I believe that the only true Irish movement is one to drive robbers out of Ireland, and the only true Socialist movement in France or elsewhere is that organized body of men who demand that the tools of production and distribution, i. e., land and machinery, shall be the collective property of the people without regard to creed or color.

We have had in this State, quite recently, bogus Socialists elected to office by the connivance of disgruntled Democratic and Republican workmen. The public press, maliciously or through ignorance of the status of the Socialist movement, called their election a Socialist victory. One of these gentlemen, Mr. James F. Carey, of Haverhill, voted \$15,000 to put an army into sanitary condition so that the citizen (?) soldiers could shoot down the American cannaille if they objected to further degradation by their wage-slave masters. The British plan of disuniting the Irish people by setting Orangemen against Catholics, will not retard the Socialist movement. Let us have truth on the subject.

M. D. Fitzgerald.

THE CHICAGO DEBATE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—On Sunday, April 2, at Exchange Hall, Sangamon and Monroe streets, Chicago, a debate took place between Ernest Unterman of the so-called Socialist Party and Albert Lingenfelter of the Socialist Labor Party. The meeting was called to order by Comrade McEchern, who stated that the subject to be debated was: "Resolved, that the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was built from above and emanated in the head of one man." Mr. Unterman, of the Socialist party was to take the affirmative and Comrade Lingenfelter, of the S. L. P., the negative; time to be divided as follows: affirmative to open with 40 minutes, negative to follow with 40 minutes; negative to close with 20 minutes. He then introduced Mr. Unterman, of the S. P.

Mr. Unterman opened by stating that the rules governing the debate were all in favor of his opponent and that the Socialist Labor Party, under whose auspices the debate is taking place, was charging an admission fee and, "I am not even getting my car fare out of it. I know that what I am going to say here is to be reported in The People." He therefore gave notice that if he were not correctly reported in The People he would demand a correction. He would now proceed to show that the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was built from the top and emanated from the head of one man.

Unterman then told us that it was Hugo Vogt who had engineered the plans that resulted in capturing the Knights of Labor Convention, assisted by Murphy, Brower, and others, and that resulted in District Alliance number 49 withdrawing from the Knights of Labor. The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was then launched. Only De Leon, who had not at that time played a prominent part, remained in the Socialist Labor Party.

Hugo Vogt, who was the diplomat, had carefully laid his plans and when the convention of the Socialist Labor Party was held in '96 he had everything ready to turn the Alliance over to the Socialist Labor Party. He was favored by conditions which existed in '95, after the American Railway Union strike.

Unterman, continuing, said he would now show that the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was a one man affair. He then cited the Bohm case, wherein he claimed De Leon had automatically expelled Bohm. "But a new Union is to be organized at the Chicago Convention that will not have affiliation with any political party," said Unterman. His time

having expired, he took his seat amidst laughter.

Comrade Lingenfelter, upon taking the floor, stated in part that the object of a Trade Union should be to educate its members on class lines, but the present pure and simple style of unionism had drifted from its real mission and was for and of the capitalist class. Despite this the "Socialist" party to which his opponent belongs had by an overwhelming majority endorsed that kind of unionism by voting down the Ott Resolutions at the late convention in Chicago of S. P. (Unterman: "Read the resolution") Lingenfelter read it. ("That resolution even a De Leon could have endorsed.") Now Mr. Unterman let me ask you did that cowardly act emanate from above and in the head of one man or did it in the language of the American Labor Union 'Journal emanate "from a pack of scabherders", and is it not a fact that mostly all of those men who had been prominent in the S. T. and L. A. and whose motto was "Rule or Ruin" are to-day shining lights in the American Federation of Labor and the "Socialist" party, after having been expelled from the S. T. and L. A.?

Unterman, upon getting the floor for twenty minutes in rebuttal, stated that the Ott resolution was voted down at their late national convention because other resolutions had been introduced and were before the Committee of Resolutions, but that the June convention would not stand for affiliation with any political party and that the S. L. P. had committed suicide by its abusive tactics (great laughter at his debating with a corpse). Mr. Unterman was acting in a very nervous manner at this juncture. Unterman, pointed his finger at Lingenfelter and said: "Is it not a fact that you are at the present time a member of a trade union?" (more laughter).

As for intellectuals, there were two kinds in the Socialist movement. As for himself, he came from the working class and has been all over the world before the mast and what knowledge he possessed he had gained through his own efforts. De Leon, on the other hand, came from the middle class. He was born upon some island in South America and, subject to the natural instinct of his race, would either rule or ruin. He had now succeeded in ruining the S. L. P. and was now trying to sneak in through the back door of the Socialist party. He wound up his talk by reading from the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance constitution of '96 (great laughter which prompted Comrade Lingenfelter to step forward, asking the audience to remain quiet and give Mr. Unterman all his time.) Unterman proceeded to tell them that he failed to see the joke in their constitution. Due to the principles and tactics of the S. T. and L. A., it had grown smaller and smaller, and cited the number of delegates attending their conventions.

Comrade Lingenfelter in closing the debate said that Mr. Unterman in mentioning the Bohm case had carefully avoided all mention of the part played by Mr. Slobodin, the national secretary of the S. P., in that traitorous act. De Leon preferred charges against Bohm before the G. E. B. of the S. T. and L. A. and had acted in a parliamentary and constitutional manner in preferring the charges, and farther, that there existed in Chicago several locals of the Alliance in 1899, but after the S. P. was started it had delivered every one of them into the hands of the American Federation of Labor, farther proof, that the S. P. does not and never has stood for industrial unionism. But Mr. Unterman could rest assured that the S. T. and L. A. would be at the Chicago convention in force and he would find out that it was a lively corpse and that the Alliance is not coming there to compromise its principles. It was immaterial what the name would be. "As for the statement of Mr. Unterman that I am a member of a pure and simple union, it is too ridiculous to deserve an answer." After having paid attention to a few of Mr. Unterman's statements, Lingenfelter closed the debate.

During Comrade Lingenfelter's last 20 minutes, he was several times interrupted by Unterman and his supporters, not being satisfied with the showing made by Mr. Unterman. A general howl arose for more time for their fallen idol, but their cries were in vain.

H. A. Neilson.

Chicago, Ill., April 11.

READ UP AND YOU WILL FIND "THE MEANING OF IT ALL," TO BE OF VITAL SIGNIFICANCE TO LABOR.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I have long wanted to know something of you. Our editors keep pitching into a certain De Leon, as always doing something extremely bad and violent, and calling names (but they do the same in return), so that we of the "rank and file" are sometimes bewildered. And I see the other day that Father Hagerty had a rumus at a San Francisco meeting—has he left us and gone over to you? What's the meaning of it all? Members of one movement fighting and scrapping within the ranks,—what a

spectacle for the enemy to witness! Now, if there is anything in point on the difference between the Socialist Labor Party, please let me have it, and send me The People. If enclosed stamps are insufficient, I will remit the balance. I may add, that I am a member of the Socialist party.

Fraternally,

Kingfisher, Okla., April 7.

J. H. H.

E. K. THOMAS.

Enoch K. Thomas, one of the pioneers of the modern Socialist movement in this country, is dead. Thomas was born in Greenville, O., on Jan. 23, 1832. He was a member of the Knights of Labor in Boston in the early 80s. He identified himself with the radical element, and later entered the Socialist movement. Shortly after this Thomas came to New York City to live. He presided over the famous Union Square meeting that was brutally suppressed by the police in 1887. Thomas was a member of the Socialist Labor Party, and always took an active interest in its affairs, until recently, when old age and business compelled him to desist. He was an awning manufacturer and noted for his droll humor. A few weeks ago, Thomas was taken to Mount Sinai Hospital, where an operation for appendicitis was performed upon him. Blood poisoning set in, which resulted fatally on Thursday, April 13, at his home, 1916 Third avenue, whence he had been taken. Thomas was married twice. Three children survive him: two married daughters by his first wife, Mrs. Martha L. Rainsbeck of this city and Mrs. Eva Hearon of Allentown, Pa.; and a married son by his second wife, Frank E. Thomas of Los Angeles, Cal.

More than two score of the relatives, friends, and comrades of Thomas assembled at the undertakers chapel of the E. W. Taylor Company, 154 East Twenty-third street, Sunday, April 16, to perform the last rites over the deceased, and pay their respects to his memory. Many floral offerings were in evidence. Six carriages followed the hearse to Cypress Hill cemetery, where interment took place at 2 o'clock. The funeral services were simple and brief.

Thomas was laid to rest in the same grave with his chum and comrade of former days, Charles J. Purcell, who died in April, 1880. It was Purcell's dying wish that the same earth should cover his and Thomas' bodies.

PENNSYLVANIA S. E. C.

Pennsylvania State Executive Committee met in regular session March 23. Gay elected chairman. All present except Tresek.

Communications and bills: From Spittall, \$5.26 for N. A. F. matter. From National Secretary Henry Kuhn, receipt for \$52.23 N. A. F. matter and 100 due stamps. From Mullen, subscription for Weekly People.

The State Secretary is in correspondence with other sections in reference to holding State convention.

Receipts, \$9.31; expenses, \$54.10.

James Erwin, Sec.

Pennsylvania State Executive Committee met April 4. Gay elected chairman. Gay, Dunner, and Erwin present; Tresek and Mullen absent.

Communications and bills: From Comrades Hinkle, Weidling, and Kuhn; also from D. E. Gilchrist, organizer Allegheny County, thirty dollars for due stamps, and names of officers elected.

Receipts \$31; expenses \$14.50.

James Erwin, Sec.

SPECIAL FUND.

As per circular letter of Sept. 3, 1901.

Previously acknowledged	\$9,822.39
Section Hartford, Conn.	25.00
W. Messinger, Cleveland, Ohio	5.00
Section Winona, Minn.	3.75
Section Passaic County, N. J.	5.00
A. S. Dowler, Finlay, Texas	1.00
N. J. State Ex. Com.	10.00
Section Newport News, Va.	6.45
L. Brennan, East St. Louis, Ill.	1.00
G. A. Jennings, East St. Louis, Ill.	1.00
H. Bloemman, East St. Louis, Ill.	1.00
J. Larsen, New Haven, Conn.	.50
M. B. Quinn, Chicago, Ill.	.25
P. Pressel, Moline, Ill.	1.00
F. Ahlberg, Moline, Ill.	1.50
Section Hoboken, N. J.	5.00
A. B. Herschmann, Hoboken, N. J.	1.00
J. Sweeney, Hoboken, N. J.	1.00
C. Zimmermann, Hoboken, N. J.	.50
J. Eck, Hoboken, N. J.	.25
German Branch, New York City	1.00
Total	\$9,894.34

LYNN, MASS., NOTICE!

Section Lynn, Mass., S. L. P., will meet every first and third Sunday, 11.30 a. m., at New Hall, 160 Market street.

Organizer.

LETTER-BOX OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

[NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.]

T. N., BUTTE, MONT.—The insurance feature, attached to some Unions, was attached as a means to keep the men in subjection. The officers of these Unions built upon the principle that a man who has paid dues into the insurance branch of the Union would not dare to leave the labor branch of the Union out of fear that he would lose all the money he paid into the insurance branch. That string will not hold. The rights to insurance, once acquired cannot be forfeited in that way. The workman who has acquired such rights can snap his fingers in the face of the fakirs. They cannot deprive him of his insurance rights. He can join any other labor organization, disconnect himself from the previous one, and still preserve his rights in the old insurance branch.

D. J. C., COLUMBUS, O.—Why, man, Berger is nothing new. You will find a long list of "Berger" in the Socialist Labor Party's leaflet "The Difference." The facts therein mentioned are all official. The very people who swallowed that camel are now howlingly straining at the Berger's gnat. Why? Simply because the issue lies deeper. It is the Union issue. The "Intellectuals" and fakirs are howling because they feel the ground crumbling under them; and true to their "Intellectual" fakirism they are trying to make a scapegoat of Berger.

R. E. E., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—First—As just above to D. J. C., Columbus, O., Second—Do you think it is an accident that your Social Democratic, alias "Socialist" party took for its emblem the emblem of the Gompers-Civic Federation A. F. of L.—the arm with the torch?—Chew upon that.

D. Y., TRENTON, N. J.—First—As above to the two correspondents just preceding.

Second—What divided the S. L. P. from the instant the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance was organized was "material interest." The S. L. P. attitude towards the A. F. of L. did not suit those S. L. P. members who hungered after A. F. of L. jobs (Max Hayes, and Ben Hanford for instance) or who as "Intellectuals" needed a crowd in which to fish for business (Hilkowitz, alias Hilkuit, for instance and more such)—Now all these were well lost.

T. S. L., NEW HAVEN, CT.—Yes, the men who took the places of the Interborough strikers are scabs. But don't draw excessive conclusions from that. Within six months these very men will be ready to rebel. We can rely upon the capitalist system to diet them into a rebellious disposition. Then, all that will be wanted will be "organization"—which is being seen to. Don't allow yourself to be misled by the articles that are appearing, showing how Vreeland, manager of the Traction Company, has the knack of narcotizing the men. He is himself but pulling the legs of the Company for all he is worth. That's what those articles are meant for. They are inspired by himself.

R. S. G., CHICAGO, ILL.—Our theory as to how "A. M. Simons, Editor," came to sign the Chicago Manifesto?—Well, here it is: "A. M. Simons, Editor," is a superficial, a weak and a vainglorious man. Being superficial, when he heard the thing read and the arguments made, he must have failed to grasp the meaning of the setting up of a large and bona-fide Union; being weak, he lacked the grit to say "Nay"; being vainglorious, he could not forego the delight of "seeing himself in print." Of course, the reaction set in afterwards, as it always does with weak men, and, as weak men usually do, he now seeks to straddle. But the times are not for straddles.

J. J., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—As to the revolution of 1830—"Annals of the revolution in France, 1830," by Wm. Hone. As to the revolution of 1848, "The History of Thirty Hours," by Emile de Girardin. It is translated into English.

M. S. M., NEW YORK—First—"The we" was purely the editorial "we"—obviously so. Second—Yes. 'Tis he.

J. L., NEW YORK—No time! The day has but twenty-four hours.

S. H., DENVER, COLO.—You will never see an "Intellectual" but he has an abhorrence for the very thought of Unionism. And the fact is of deep significance. The "Intellectual" is essentially a bourgeois radical; what he aims at is a political job; hence, however honestly he may start, he winds up a crook; he will trim and double and prevaricate, and give up everything for votes.

J. W. K., PUEBLO, COLO.—Register!

J. L., NEW YORK—Oh! Was it Mr. W. J. Gheest who is responsible for that

infamously stupid and stupidly infamous article in "The New Yorker Worker" of last February 5, in which the Socialist claim that the capitalist "fakir" from the working class four-fifths of all that class produces," was pronounced "a wild exaggeration?" Was it he? Looks like him.

D. J., DETROIT, MICH.—The following historic joke covers the point.

During the last week of June, 1900, Gompers landed in this city. He was to have a conference with the labor leaders on an injunction that a judge had just issued against his cigarmakers. After Gompers got through with the specific alleged purpose of his address, he addressed the assembled fakirs in about this language:

"Now, there is another thing I want to say to you. There is to be started on the first of next month a new daily paper in this city—the Daily People—by a man called De Leon (we are not told that Gompers here added that De Leon's real name is "Loeb"; presumably Gompers was too much excited as he saw the noose of the Daily People centering around his neck to indulge in turgid flippancy). Hem! Now, then, I have it from good authority in the newspaper line that it takes at least \$60,000 to start a daily paper in this city. Hem! Now, then, by means of picnics and donations, De Leon has raised \$10,000. He is still \$50,000 short! (Raising his voice): Will the paper not appear! (Yelling louder): Yes, it will appear! It will be out on July 1. (Yelling still louder): He was \$50,000 short and he got them!?! (Yelling at the top of his voice): Where did he get them? (Then, lowering his voice to a stage whisper): I'll tell ye—he got them—from—Tom—Platt—!!

Gompers expected a tremendous indignation to break out against De Leon. His words had exactly the opposite effect upon his brother-fakirs. Their jaws dropped and ever since, they have had for De Leon a sort of uncanny awe and admiration;—them Tom Platt would not give \$5—and there was De Leon, who could hold up Tom Platt for \$50,000!—Tableau.

We have made again and again the experience: a scampish act only provokes the admiration of scamps.

S. B. H., GRAND JUNCTION, COLO.—There is no special material on the subject. May Day is to-day intended to give emphasis to the oneness of the proletariat.

D. M. H., ROSLYN, WASH.—Your criticism of the stand taken by The People and the pamphlet "Reform or Revolution" in the matter of wages will be gladly published in full. But it is so defective and wrong, that, as in all such instances, the only benefit that could accrue from its publication is the simultaneous "hearing of the other side." Just now our hands are too full to do that properly. Shall accommodate you in a week or two.

TO PARTY MEMBERS AND FRIENDS, IN ALL COUNTRIES—Continue to send to this office preambles and constitutions of your respective unions. A full collection is needed in this office. Get your acquaintances in unions of which you may not be members to give you a copy and forward it here.

A. A. G., SCRANTON, PA.; F. W. A., PEORIA, ILL.; E. G., LOUISVILLE, KY.; M. R., SIDNEY, AUSTRALIA; J. R., PHILADELPHIA, PA.; E. R. E., ST. LOUIS, MO.; J. K., NEW YORK MILLS, N. Y.; B. E., INDIANAPOLIS, IND.; T. D. T., ROLLINSFORD, N. H.; S. E. L., CHICAGO, ILL.; F. B., HELEN, MONT.; P. W., VICTORIA, B. C.; F. P. J., KANSAS CITY, MO.; W. W. W., FITCHBURG, MASS.; D. T. J., PASADENA, CAL.; O. J. M., CHICAGO, ILL.; S. C. Y., CHICAGO, ILL.; D. L. V., NEW YORK; G. S., NEW YORK; E. G., DALLAS, TEX.; J. U., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.; E. M., BOISE CITY, IDA.; H. A. N., CHICAGO, ILL.; E. E. BOSTON, MASS.; C. A. V. K., BRACONDALE, P. O., CANADA; W. W. E., SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH; PRESS COMMITTEE, BRADDOCK, PA.;—Matter received.

CHICAGO S. T. & L. A. MASS MEETING.

There will be a mass meeting of all the readers of the Party Press, members of the Socialist Labor Party, and sympathizers, for the purpose of perfecting the organization of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance in Chicago. Those who signed the application blanks should be on hand without fail at Exchange Hall, corner Moors and Sangamon streets, Sunday, April 23, at 3 p. m. Comrade Duncan McEchern will lecture on Industrial Unionism. Readers, this means you; come and bring your friends.

2-6 New Rade street, New York City.